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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

John Edgar Hoover, Director

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

May 1957--December 1957

January 1958

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>PREFACE</u>	i
<u>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	ii
A. Summary	ii
B. Conclusions	v
 I. <u>FOREIGN POLICY</u>	 1
1. U. S. Foreign Policy	2
2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition	3
3. Nuclear Weapons	5
4. Disarmament	6
5. NATO Meeting	8
6. New Geneva Conference	10
7. Middle East	11
8. Germany	13
9. Communist China	14
10. United Nations Report on Hungary	15
11. Soviet Purges	17
12. Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution	19
13. Socialism Will Ensure Peace	20
 II. <u>DOMESTIC ISSUES</u>	 22
1. Prosperity	23
2. Inflation	24
3. Economic Outlook	25
4. Unemployment	26
5. Taxes	27
6. Social Welfare Program	27
7. Antimonopoly Coalition	29
8. Validity of Marxism-Leninism	30
9. The Class Struggle	31
10. Peaceful Road to Socialism	31
11. American Road to Socialism	32
12. Relations with Other Socialist Groups	33
13. Future of the Communist Party, USA	34

III.	<u>LABOR AND INDUSTRY</u>	35
1.	Big Business Dominates the Present Administration .	36
2.	Profits and Prices	37
3.	Congressional Investigation of Excess Profits	38
4.	Small Business	39
5.	Wages	41
6.	Labor Racketeering	42
7.	"Right-to-Work" Laws	44
8.	Shorter Work Week.	45
9.	Labor Unity	47
10.	Labor's Political Activity	48
11.	Communists in the Labor Movement	48
12.	Proletarian Internationalism	49
13.	Workers Need Socialism	50
IV.	<u>AGRICULTURE</u>	51
1.	Small-Scale Farmers	51
2.	Farm Price Supports	52
3.	Organize the Agricultural Workers	53
4.	Farmer-Labor Unity	54
5.	Communist Agricultural Program	55
V.	<u>COLONIALISM</u>	56
1.	Imperialism Brings Poverty	57
2.	Struggle against Colonialism	58
3.	Decline of Colonialism	58
4.	Socialism Opposes Colonialism	59
5.	United States Supports Colonialism	59
6.	British Imperialism	60
7.	Algeria	61
8.	Cyprus	61
9.	Formosa	62
10.	Indonesia	63
11.	Turkey	63
12.	Latin America	64
13.	British Guiana	64

14.	Colombia	65
15.	Cuba	66
16.	Guatemala	66
17.	Puerto Rico	67
18.	Venezuela	67
VI.	<u>LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS</u>	69
1.	The 85th Congress	70
2.	Congressional Investigating Committees	71
3.	Repeal Anticommunist Legislation	72
4.	Amnesty for Imprisoned Party Leaders	73
5.	The Case of Morton Sobell	74
6.	Loyalty-Security Program	75
7.	Confidential Informants	75
8.	McCarthyism	76
9.	Return to the Bill of Rights	77
10.	Attacks on the Supreme Court	78
11.	Support the Supreme Court Decisions	79
VII.	<u>ARMED FORCES</u>	81
1.	Military Budget	81
2.	Withdrawal of American Troops from Foreign Bases.	82
VIII.	<u>MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS</u>	84
1.	Fight for Negro Rights Is Basic	85
2.	Need for Struggle	86
3.	Communists Fight for Rights of Negroes	86
4.	Relations with Negro Organizations	87
5.	Civil Rights Legislation	88
6.	Little Rock	89
7.	Federal Intervention in the Southern States	91
8.	Right To Vote in the South	92
9.	Organizing Drive in the South	93
10.	Negro-Labor Unity	94
11.	Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom	94

12.	Negroes Need Socialism	95
13.	Foreign-Born Americans	95
14.	Soviet Anti-Semitism	96

IX. EDUCATION 99

1.	Crisis in Education	99
2.	Education for All	100
3.	Increased Aid for Education	101
4.	Education under Socialism	101
5.	Jefferson School of Social Science	102

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION 103

1.	Culture under Capitalism	104
2.	Culture in the USSR	104
3.	Exchange of Cultural Delegations	105
4.	Fine Arts Bill	105
5.	Federal Aid for the Arts	106
6.	Art for the People	107
7.	Communist Cultural Program	108
8.	Science in the USSR	109
9.	Science in America	110
10.	International Geophysical Year	111
11.	Socialism and Science	111
12.	Evangelism	112

XI. WOMEN 113

1.	Women Want Peace	113
2.	Women's Wasted Talents	113
3.	Exchange of Women's Delegations	115

XII. YOUTH 116

1.	Juvenile Delinquency	116
2.	Exchange of Youth Delegations	117
3.	Youth Needs Socialism	117

PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In line with current Soviet propaganda, the Communist Party, USA, in the field of international relations, placed greatest emphasis on the themes of peaceful coexistence and an end to the testing of nuclear weapons as the first step toward further disarmament. The recent meeting of the representatives of the nations which have united in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was viewed as a serious "diplomatic and political" defeat for the United States. As an alternative, the Party repeated its demands for another Geneva Conference as the most effective means of resolving international tensions. The Party also reaffirmed the claim that a policy of neutrality was the only basis for any possibility of reunifying Germany. Concomitant with these themes, the Party continued to call for the return of all foreign troops to their own nations, and an increase in trade, travel, and the exchange of representative delegations between the United States and the communist-dominated nations.

The United States was blamed for precipitating the tension in the Middle East, and the Party continued to assert that the participation of the Soviet Union will be required to achieve lasting peace in that area. The "anti-colonial struggle," supported by the socialist nations, was interpreted

as a "major disaster" to the capitalist nations, and the United States was repeatedly accused of attempting to impose its economic and/or political domination on the underdeveloped nations of the world.

The Bolshevik Revolution was hailed as ushering in a new era in the history of mankind, and Soviet scientific achievements were offered as evidence of the inherent superiority of socialism over capitalism in the fields of education and scientific endeavor. The purges of Soviet leaders V. M. Molotov, L. M. Kaganovich, D. T. Shepilov, G. M. Malenkov, and G. K. Zhukov were justified as furthering the prospects for international peace. The report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary was denounced as an attempt, instigated by the United States, to inflame anti-Soviet sentiments and to disrupt all attempts to resolve international tensions by peaceful means. While denying that the Soviet Union could be accused of anti-Semitism, the Party indicated that it would welcome a more detailed explanation of the steps being taken by the Soviet Union to prevent a recurrence of past "distortions" and "errors" in this regard. Party propaganda urging that the United States extend diplomatic recognition to communist China and that that nation be admitted to the United Nations continued.

With reference to national affairs, the issue of equal rights for Negroes, with particular stress on the right to vote in the Southern States,

received greatest emphasis. The civil rights legislation enacted by the 85th Congress, although described as "weak" and "diluted," was accepted as providing a foundation for future efforts to secure passage of a stronger law. In line with its continued demands for Federal intervention to guarantee the rights of Negroes in the Southern States, the Party approved the use of Federal troops to protect the rights of Negro high school students in Little Rock, Arkansas.

The economic policies of the Republican Administration were blamed for rising unemployment and for the continuing inflationary trend. The Party urged a program of Government spending "for welfare and not warfare" as the best method of coping with the developing economic crisis. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) was urged to press the demand for a shorter work week as its principal objective in the wage negotiations scheduled to take place during 1958. Congressional hearings on labor racketeering were viewed as a prelude to the enactment of antilabor legislation, and the Party continued to stress the need for independent political activity by the labor movement. To promote greater working-class unity, the AFL-CIO was urged to intensify its efforts to organize the agricultural workers and the unorganized Negro and white workers in the Southern States.

The Party line reflects clearly the intentions of communist propagandists to distort the real meaning of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on civil liberties in order to better promulgate communist programs in this Nation. For example, the Party intensified its demands for the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and its attacks on congressional investigating committees, the loyalty-security program, and the use of confidential informants. The Party continued its demands for a new trial for Morton Sobell and for amnesty for its leaders still imprisoned under the Smith Act.

While proclaiming the possibility of a peaceful and American road to socialism, the Party reaffirmed the validity of Marxism-Leninism, the continuation of the class struggle in the United States, and the need for a strong spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Party confidently predicted that it would revitalize itself and play a significant role in the achievement of socialism, which was repeatedly offered as the only solution of the major problems affecting our Nation.

B. Conclusions

1. Although the Party is emphasizing the claim that it formulates its policies independently, no significant change in the Party line on any current issue of international significance is anticipated in the immediate future. This means that the Party can be expected to continue to stress such issues as peaceful coexistence, disarmament, ending the testing of nuclear weapons, and exchanging delegations between the United States and the communist-dominated nations.

2. On January 10, 1958, John Gates resigned from the Communist Party, USA, and as editor of the Daily Worker, which discontinued publication on January 13, 1958. Since Gates was more outspokenly critical of the Soviet Union than the Party's remaining national leaders and since the Party's other principal publications are edited by ardent supporters of the Soviet Union, even less criticism of the Soviet Union is anticipated in the future.
3. The social and political gains achieved by the Negroes in the past several years have been attained without any significant contribution by the Communist Party, USA. Nevertheless, propaganda designed to exploit the grievances of this minority group is expected to predominate in the Party line on national affairs, as it has in the recent past.
4. In an effort to capitalize on the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on civil-liberties issues, the Party can be expected to redouble its efforts to gain widespread acceptance as a legitimate political party. It is, therefore, expected that even greater emphasis will be placed on efforts to secure the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and on the claim that the Party advocates a peaceful and American road to socialism.
5. In its efforts to regain its former influence, the Party plans to concentrate on united action with noncommunist organizations in support of popular social and economic issues. For this reason, it is anticipated that the Party will de-emphasize the fundamental differences between its over-all program and the programs of noncommunist organizations with which it hopes to join forces.

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The foreign policy of the United States is "bankrupt" and must be reversed.
2. The only alternative to peaceful coexistence is "no existence."
3. The United States should agree to an immediate ban on the further testing of nuclear weapons.
4. Disarmament is the only solution to the present "atomic stalemate."
5. The recent meeting of the NATO nations in Paris was a serious "diplomatic and political" defeat for the United States.
6. Another Geneva Conference is necessary to resolve the major international tensions.
7. The solution of the crisis precipitated by the United States in the Middle East will require the co-operation of the United States and the Soviet Union.
8. A policy of neutrality is the only basis for the reunification of Germany.
9. The United States should extend diplomatic recognition to communist China and should discontinue opposing the admission of that nation to the United Nations.
10. The report of the United Nations on Hungary is "a crafty blow at peace," designed to promote anti-Soviet sentiments.
11. While the methods by which the Soviet purges were carried out "raise some questions," the removal of the ousted Soviet leaders is an indication of the peaceful aims of the Soviet Union.
12. The Bolshevik Revolution gave rise to "a new social order."
13. Only socialism can ensure world peace.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"SPUTNIK'S consequences are many, but not the least is that it has begun to dislodge many encrusted prejudices from American minds.

"One of these is the vicious 'positions-of-strength' theory so dear to State Secretary John Foster Dulles and those men of the trusts he represents."

...
"...the Administration essentially is standing pat on its same bankrupt 'positions-of-strength' policies...."

...
"What is involved is the stubborn maintenance of a false, dangerous, anti-national, pro-imperialist series of policies. The essence of these policies is the attempt of our State Department to dictate to the world from alleged positions of strength...."

"...What is needed is a fundamental re-appraisal of our foreign policy."

"Essential to a new policy is to go back to some fundamentals developed during the best period of American-Soviet relations, the Roosevelt period. The White House might well re-learn what Wendell Willkie told us in 1943:

" 'We must work with Russia after the war. At least it seems to me there can be no continued peace unless we learn to do so.'"

"To 'work with Russia' means to work with it as equals and to reject the arrogant 'position-of-strength' policy. It means that we must have as settled underlying principles peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition, remembering at all times that today 'war is unthinkable.'"

"Given these fundamental propositions, all else can be negotiated--disarmament, trade, cultural exchange.

"But this will not come of itself. The American people will have to fight for such a policy and, yes, impose such a policy against the bitter resistance of the men in the hushed board rooms of Wall Street and Washington."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 11, 1957, p. 5.

"...From 'containment' to 'liberation' to to sputnik hysteria; from the Truman Doctrine to the Eisenhower Doctrine to the doctrine of bomb-and-missile madness--the American people have been led on a course that squanders our political and moral capital, undermines our national security and drives us toward the brink of nuclear war."

The Worker,
November 24, 1957, p. 2.

"...our foreign policy, as personified by John Foster Dulles, is a political failure, a financial rat-hole and a danger to the future of mankind, and needs to be reversed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 28, 1957, p. 2.

2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"...the alternative now facing the US. is 'peaceful coexistence--or no existence.' "

"...ever larger numbers of democratic Americans, especially working people, agree that it is high time to find the ways and means for East

and West to negotiate, to co-exist as Good Neighbors, and to engage in peaceful and constructive competition."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, pp. 4, 8.

"SPUTNIK marks a crossroads for our country and all mankind: either intensified cold war and the mounting menace of A- and H-bomb catastrophes or international control of the monsters of destruction, negotiation of differences, peaceful competition and co-existence between the capitalist and socialist systems.

"The American labor movement can play a decisive role in determining our country's course. Union men and women should refuse to be trapped into supporting the enemies of labor in their drive for cold-war measures that would undoubtedly include new shackles for workers. Peaceful competition with Russia can mean expanded trade and new jobs to take the place of defense cutbacks.

"Dawn or doom--which shall it be?"

The Worker,
October 20, 1957, p. 9.

"...Peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition must become the explicit, settled bases of our policy. Cooperation and cultural exchange with the gifted Soviet people; not hostility and suspicion, must become the order of the day. In cooperation with all the peoples of the world our great American people can advance to the stars."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 7, 1957, p. 5.

"The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party will do all in its power, and calls upon the members of the Party, to support the

many efforts of the American people to promote negotiation and agreement between East and West on all issues affecting world peace. It is our firm conviction that such an agreement is realizable. We Americans can play a major part in its attainment by concertedly striving to have our Government pursue a course of peaceful co-existence and peaceful economic competition."

Daily Worker,
September 20, 1957, p. 7.

3. Nuclear Weapons

"Thus far our government has steadfastly rejected all proposals, whether from the USSR, India, or elsewhere, to conclude an international treaty pledging the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons.

"Washington hedges and procrastinates while reorganizing the military forces of the U.S. on the basis of nuclear weapons and strategy. And it counters proposals for such renunciation with irrelevant and delaying propositions for complicated and fantastic inspection and control systems, and with other impossible conditions..."

"But right now, and for the immediate period ahead, it is imperative that mass attention and activity be centered on the pressing issue of banning all nuclear tests--and without any strings attached. *

"This burning issue has captured the imagination and heart of the great majority of the American people. It is a limited, yet a most urgent objective in itself. *

"And the struggle to realize this demand can appreciably advance the over-all movement for ending the atomic arms race, for promoting universal disarmament and peaceful co-existence...."

Eugene Dennis, "H-Bomb Testing and Our National Interest," Political Affairs, September, 1957, pp. 10, 13.

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"We believe the ban on tests must be free of political conditions. Nor can it wait upon the essential and eventual solution of the many problems in relation to prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of all nuclear weapons. To be effective, the halting of the H-bomb tests must be immediate and without any conditions other than those needed to enforce it."

Daily Worker,
July 1, 1957, p. 4.

"Most of humanity knows by now that we and the Russians have enough nuclear strength to destroy each other should the cataclysm of war come. What most cannot understand is why the tests must continue, bringing no relative superiority to either side at this point, but certainly bringing slow death to thousands living today, and genetic horrors to unborn generations."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 5, 1957, p. 1.

"...agreement to stop the H-bomb tests is self-enforcing because an explosion can be detected anywhere immediately. The Soviet government has accepted the proposal to stop all nuclear test explosions.

"The challenge is before our country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

4. Disarmament

"...the whole meaning of Sputnik and the ICBM and the H-bomb is that THE ARMS RACE IS OBSOLETE, just as war is obsolete. We could spend ten times more for weapons than we are spending now and it would not give us one dime's worth of added national security.

"What President Eisenhower recognized at Geneva is still true-- the era of atomic stalemate is here. The piling up of new missiles, new

rockets etc. will not change the situation. The stalemate can only be broken by a world peace settlement."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 17, 1957, p. 5.

"Admittedly, agreement on reduction of armaments, presents many difficult problems, The roadblocks and political conditions injected into the disarmament discussions by Dulles, Strauss and Knowland make agreement impossible. But it has been generally recognized in the U.S. as well as abroad, that the immediate unconditional banning of nuclear weapon tests would create more favorable conditions for negotiations and agreement in this crucial field, and pave the way for a peaceful solution of all other issues.

"Instead of heeding the will of the American people, our State Department follows the dictates of the monopolies, which make fantastic profits out of the armaments race. The national interests of the U.S. and the welfare of the American people require a ban on nuclear weapon tests and the use of the A- and H-bomb, a genuine program of universal arms reduction, the easing of the burden of taxation, and the ending of the armaments race."

Daily Worker,
September 20, 1957, p. 3.

"It is true suspension of tests is not the final answer to disarmament. It is only the beginning. From where we sit, the American and Soviet proposals on these longer range questions do not seem so far apart as to bar agreement-- particularly if our State Department doesn't continue its old habit of backing away from its own proposals whenever the American and Soviet positions come closer. Several American commentators have pointed out that the State Department seems to be more concerned with winning a propaganda battle while actually having the arms race continue."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 2, 1957, p. 5.

"This way lies madness, war profits and world destruction. It is time for a reappraisal--but of false theories.. It is time for a new start-- not to galvanize the arms race into a new pitch of frenzy but to reach definite, simple and mutually safe agreements to stop the nuclear tests and begin to disarm."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 9, 1957, p. 5.

"Now, more than ever before, we Communists favor a crash program for universal disarmament--not a crash program for ballistic missiles and atomic destruction."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 8.

5. NATO Meeting

"AT THE NATO heads-of-government conference U.S. policy suffered what is probably the greatest diplomatic and political defeat it has had at any international gathering in the present century.

"By the same token the American people and the peoples of all other countries won a significant, even if partial and limited victory.

"It was largely at the insistence of the Eisenhower Administration that a routine meeting of the NATO council was inflated into a glittering heads-of-government conference. The purpose was threefold:

"To counter the decline in U.S. prestige and influence and the evidences of sharp discord in the NATO war alliance by a massive show of political unity and strength.

"To persuade reluctant allies to permit the establishment on their territories of U.S. intermediate-range missile bases and nuclear

stockpiles as 'deterrents' to 'aggression' by the Soviet Union which admittedly is far ahead in the missile race.

"To block all negotiations with the Soviet Union for easing international tensions and the peaceful settlement of differences.

"ON ALL three counts, despite the face-saving verbiage of the official communique, Eisenhower and Dulles failed...."

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"THE most important defeat suffered by the Dulles foreign policy was on negotiations with the Soviet Union...."

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"...press comments reveal the depths of the humiliation suffered by that aggressive, militaristic 'positions-of-strength' policy whose chief architect is the Wall Street lawyer who happens to be our Secretary of State."

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"It is now generally agreed that the decisive factor in compelling the NATO conference to adopt a more affirmative approach toward East-West talks was Bulganin's letters to President Eisenhower and the heads of other NATO countries in which he proposed top-level negotiations, a ban on A- and H-bomb tests as of Jan. 1, 1958, a zone free of nuclear weapons covering West and East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia and other positive measures.

"NO LESS DECISIVE than the Bulganin letter was the strength of the opposition inside and outside of parliaments to the sterile, dangerous policy of emphasizing missiles and bombs and refusing to negotiate with the Russians.

"What the conference finally agreed to, after tipping its hat to the western powers' disarmament program that prevented even minimal agreement with the Soviet Union and to renewing talks within the United Nations, was this: 'We would welcome a meeting at the foreign ministers' level to resolve the deadlock.'

"This undoubtedly is an important though modest step forward...."

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"Of course it's certain that Dulles has not become a convert to genuine negotiations as a result of the NATO decision. Clearly the extent to which this decision will be implemented in bona fide give-and-take talks with the Russians will depend on the activity and alertness of the American people and the peoples of the other NATO countries.

"The fact that many Americans, including prominent public figures, are now speaking up for alternatives to the discredited, anti-American Dulles foreign policy which has brought such humiliation upon our country is a good omen. But much more pressure is needed to get the Administration as well as Senators and Congressmen to act. Whether or not Dulles himself goes, the Dulles policy must go."

The Worker,
December 22, 1957, pp. 1, 11.

6. New Geneva Conference

"With tension mounting in the Mid-East, the 6th Fleet patrolling the Eastern Mediterranean, and world-wide apprehension of Secretary of State Dulles' brink-of-war policies, a new Geneva conference is on the order of the day.

"Far from talking tough, the Soviet Union is again proposing negotiations to settle outstanding questions. We repeat: it is proposing negotiations and not handing down ultimatums.

"In this situation what do we get? We get a continuation of the wark-like, bankrupt Eisenhower Doctrine by that Machiavelli of brinkmanship, John Foster Dulles. We get from the Democratic Advisory Committee a demand for the senseless spending of new billions in a futile and disastrous stepping up of an already hysterical arms race."

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"War, it cannot be repeated too often, is unthinkable in the age of the intercontinental missile and H-bomb. Peaceful negotiations and settlement is the demand of the millions. A new Geneva is needed--soon."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 21, 1957, p. 5.

"The cold war is the source of our insecurity and the arms burden. A Big Four parley to end the cold war, to bring about a Middle East settlement, to furnish economic aid through the UN, and to end the arms race would be a true defense of American national interests."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 25, 1957, p. 4.

7. Middle East

"Having armed Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Iraq under the Baghdad Pact, the State Department is now arming Jordan. The aim appears to be to enable these governments to crush the national liberation movements within their own countries and to bring pressure, leading even to armed attack, against Syria and Egypt because of their independent, neutralist policy. Turkey, traditional foes of the Arab lands, is also being incited against Syria.

"This arming of the most reactionary, feudal elements in the Middle East is also a serious threat to the peace and very existence of Israel, a fact which has been noted in that land with increasing anxiety.

"The arming of several Mideast governments under the Baghdad Pact and the recent Eisenhower Doctrine has inevitably resulted in other governments buying arms wherever they could, such as from the Soviet Union, in self-defense."

Daily Worker,
September 20, 1957, p. 3.

"This points up the biggest road-block of all to Arab-Israel negotiations: the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of seeking to manipulate both Israel and the Arab countries for a two-fold objective: tightening the grip of the U.S. oil trusts and using the Middle East as a gigantic military and cold-war base against the Soviet Union."

Daily Worker,
November 21, 1957, p. 1.

"Last February the Soviet Union addressed a Note to the Western Powers for peace in the Middle East. It proposed a Four-Power Declaration for non-intervention, no military pacts or bases, withdrawal of troops, and no supply of arms.

"In June, the western powers replied with a rejection. They rejected non-intervention in the Middle East. They had other plans. They were busy building the Bagdad Pact and drawing vassals into the net of the Eisenhower Doctrine. War on Egypt. War on Yemen. A military coup to destroy democracy in Jordan. War on Oman. And now the offensive on Syria.

"Why do the western powers reject non-intervention in the Middle East?

"Oil? All the oil would be forthcoming in abundance from a free Middle East. But the Western monopolists want their profit from the domination of the oil resources. They want to hold the Middle Eastern peoples subject and exploited. Therefore they hate--and seek to destroy--Arab liberation."

.

"...The Soviet Union has no bases, no occupying troops and no military bases in the region. The Western Powers have filled it with their military, naval and air bases, their occupying forces, their military treaties and subsidized regimes. And then they have the nerve to say they are 'protecting' the people against 'Russian penetration!' "

Daily Worker,
August 27, 1957, p. 2.

"An arms embargo would mark a long step toward sanity in our foreign policy. It would make a start toward replacing the shipment of weapons with the shipment of the peacetime goods that the impoverished Middle Eastern peoples urgently need and that would keep American workers employed."

.

"...a new summit meeting that can really resolve problems in the Middle East is what America and the world need."

The Worker,
October 27, 1957, p. 10.

"But again it is necessary to bear in mind that all four of the big powers--the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and France are directly involved in Middle East affairs...."

.

"And surely it is plain common sense--that the authority and influence necessary to bring Arabs and Israelis together can come only from action of all the big powers, especially our country and the Soviet Union."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 11, 1957, p. 5.

8. Germany

"German arms have always been an issue affecting all people, no matter how many miles of ocean separated them from Germany. Two world wars bear tragic testimony to that fact. And now that a new Wehrmacht has been formed with members of Hitler's former general staff in command in West Germany, Americans obviously have a vital stake in this issue."

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"A divided Germany is a constant source of trouble, and only a militarily neutral Germany makes unification possible. This is desired by the Germans and would benefit all who want an end to this divisive issue.

"John Foster Dulles has far exceeded his authority in putting the weight of State Department influence behind Adenauer and German militarism. Above all, Dulles has thereby jeopardized American national interests and world peace, in view of the record of two world wars.

"Similarly in London, Dulles has harmed the prospects of disarmament by tying that issue to German unification. Let it quickly be noted that when Dulles speaks of 'unification' he has in mind one Germany, with one Wehrmacht, within NATO...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 19, 1957, p. 5.

"What the German people want and what is in the best interest of the American people is a neutralized, reunited Germany. But this is exactly what the State Department, along with Chancellor Adenauer opposes....

"The State Department evidently is trying to tie disarmament with German unification because it wants to see neither. The fact is these are two separate questions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 1, 1957, p. 5.

9. Communist China

"DEAN ACHESON'S proposal for 'a completely new study' of U.S. policy towards China is a welcome contrast to the bankrupt policy of the Administration.

"Administration policy was evidenced against* last week when, largely because of State Department machinations, the United Nations again voted to bar discussion of seating the People's Republic of China."

*This probably should read "again last week."

"...Fundamentally, of course, it is foolish to ignore the existence of 600,000,000 people and their government. It is not in the interest either of peace or the lessening of tension or of trade and the national prosperity to cut off so many people from relations with ourselves and from participation in such international forums as UN."

"Unquestionably the true national interest requires a speedy break with the old policies. Diplomatic recognition and admission of People's China into the UN are on the order of the day. Reciprocal press coverage, cultural exchange and trade are also indicated.

"All true friends of peace in our land--and American labor in the first place--should make their voices heard. Thus our people can move from useful study to useful action for peace and progress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 30, 1957, p. 5.

"World peace, economic welfare, the interests of a free press, and plain common sense and logic--all require China recognition. As the British Commonwealth nations pointed out at their recent conference disarmament agreements have to include China. Everything involving world affairs and particularly peaceful coexistence require recognition of China and its 600 million people."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 5, 1957, p. 5.

10. United Nations Report on Hungary

"IN A PERIOD when millions at home and throughout the world view hopefully the current disarmament talks and when popular opinion is actively seeking an end to A-bomb tests, the publication of the UN report on Hungary can only be regarded as a crafty blow at peace.

"Its clear purpose is to keep alive--and inflame--the Hungarian question in order to disrupt the growing mood for peaceful settlement of international differences. Above all, it seeks to fan the embers of anti-Soviet hatred.

"It is in this sense that one can speak of the special UN committee's report as accomplishing the chief purpose of its principal sponsor, the State Department."

"The special UN committee was set up in the midst of a vitriolic anti-Soviet campaign in the UN, sparked by the U.S. delegation. It was supported by Britain and France in a vindictive spirit of retribution against the Soviet Union for its decisive role in halting the invasion of Egypt. It is clear that the sponsorship and the policy out of which the UN committee was born committed it from the outset to outright condemnation of the Soviet Union and all efforts by the Hungarian government to restore socialist order.

"In view of this, the report could be nothing else than a self-serving--and State Department-serving--document. Despite all appearances of impartiality and the search for objective 'facts,' the truth is that only those facts are presented as authentic which bear out the pre-conceived State Department thesis. Whatever the facts on the popular discontent underlying the tragic Hungarian events and the use of Soviet troops, they are not brought out in the UN report.

"For the committee refused to authenticate the mass of evidence, beginning with State Department and Central Intelligence Agency policy, which showed the belligerent exploitation of popular dissatisfaction by organized Horthyite, clerical-fascist forces within Hungary and imperialist and emigre circles abroad for the purpose of overthrowing socialism. To admit such evidence--not to speak of other aspects ignored by the committee--would challenge the central thesis of the bellicose Dulles policy of 'liberating' Eastern Europe."

"...Imperialists and their representatives do not seek to correct the mistakes, weaknesses and troubles of socialism. On the contrary, their aim is to sharpen all differences in the socialist world and exploit all its difficulties wherever they may arise in order to divide, weaken and disrupt the unity of the socialist camp. And that is the central purpose of the UN report.

"The mischief being planned here is an enormous crime against the national welfare of America and the peace of the world. Those who work for peace, no matter how widely they may differ on interpretation of last Fall's tragic Hungarian events, should not permit the Hungarian question to disrupt them and side track the present turn towards a resumption of the Geneva course. This course is clear. It leads towards banning of A-tests and A-bombs, mutually-agreed upon disarmament, dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of troops from foreign soil.

"This latest maneuver, backed vociferously by the Knowlands, Radfords and Dulles, can only be regarded as a threat to world peace--and exposed exactly for that."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 25, 1957, p. 5.

11. Soviet Purges

"The latest developments in the CPSU, in which Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov were removed from leading Party and Soviet posts, indicate that the unfolding of the historic decisions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU, which has already achieved great results in all spheres, foreign and domestic, will now proceed at an even more rapid tempo. As a consequence, the struggle for the rectification of past mistakes and for reinforcing the unity and progress of all the socialist countries will go forward apace. And with this, the fight for peaceful co-existence will be advanced."

Eugene Dennis, "H-Bomb Testing and Our National Interest," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 3.

"Removal of Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov as Soviet Minister of Defense has started a torrent of speculation in the press, most of which boils down to the enlightening statement that 'we don't know.' "

"Whether Zhukov now moves up, down or sideways, one thing is evident--the Soviet Union is not moving toward a military dictatorship. If there was, in fact, any danger of this, removal of Zhukov means an end to that danger. "

Daily Worker,
October 29, 1957, p. 1.

"However, as in the case of the ouster of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov last July, the methods employed, including the sudden criticism of Zhukov's war record, raise some questions....

"Wide public discussion in the Communist Party and among the people of the differences with Marshal Zhukov might have obviated the need for drastic action or at least made it the culmination of a popular demand.... it seems to us that in the long run the Soviet regime would be strengthened rather than weakened by such public discussion.

"But these criticisms are decidedly secondary. The big fact that emerges from the Zhukov episode is that the Soviet Union has averted an internal danger that could have weakened and even reversed its efforts for peaceful coexistence and the attainment of that world of peaceful pursuit of human happiness which Sputnik I and II symbolize. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 5, 1957, p. 2.

12. Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution

"Within a short historical period of four decades, despite armed foreign intervention and the ravages of two wars, the Soviet people have advanced from a state of extreme backwardness and abject poverty to become a mightily industrial power equipped with the most modern science and technology. With the achievement of a socialist economy, they have done away with the scourge of unemployment and crisis, and have created the conditions for assuring an unbroken advance in their welfare and happiness.

"The epochal October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new social order which today embraces one-third of the earth's people, including the great People's Republic of China. To working people everywhere, and to the colonial and oppressed peoples seeking their freedom, the Soviet Union has been a bulwark and a tower of strength. And not least of all, the Soviet Union has been a force of inestimable importance in humanity's quest for world peace."

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"On this glorious occasion of the 40th anniversary of the USSR, we extend to you our most comradely and heartfelt wishes for a happy birthday and for continued successes in the march of your country toward Communism. We profoundly regret that because of the McCarthyite policy which prohibits the travel of many Americans abroad on political grounds, we are unable to accept your fraternal invitation to attend this momentous celebration.

"On this occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, may the friendship between our peoples grow. May our two great countries go forward in peaceful coexistence and in friendly competition as to which can contribute most to the well-being of mankind. May the bonds of solidarity of the working people of all countries, and of their Communist and Workers' parties, be strengthened in the cause of peace, democracy and socialism."

Daily Worker,
November 7, 1957, p. 3.

"Had nothing gone wrong, the Soviet accomplishments would undoubtedly be even far ahead of what they are today. The mistakes, errors and even crimes which occurred over the years have been detailed with unprecedented frankness by the Soviet leaders themselves, and were committed in the course of building and defending socialism in a situation of encirclement by hostile powers.

"The important thing is that today there is a process of correction under way. This process should be greeted not only by all socialists but by all who are genuinely concerned with peace and democracy and the raising of people's living standards everywhere.

"There are those of us who may wish that the pace of democratizing in the Soviet Union were swifter--especially with regard to a greater participation of the people in direct determination of major policy and selection of leaders. Socialism, to be complete, requires the fullest expansion of democracy--just as democracy, to reach its fullest expansion, requires socialism."

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"We extend a hand of fraternal greetings and congratulations on this day to the 200,000,000 people of the Soviet Union and wish them well in their building of socialism and in their desire, which the American people share, for a world at peace."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 7, 1957, p. 2.

13. Socialism Will Ensure Peace

"...International peace is a keystone feature of world Socialism, but the achievement of this basic Socialist objective has already become a very urgent world matter of today, actively striven for by the democratic masses in all countries, despite their differences in ideology. The central slogan of this world-wide anti-war movement is the peaceful

co-existence of all countries, irrespective of the character of their internal regimes. With an unparalleled mobilization of peace forces during the cold war, the peoples of the world--with the USSR, People's China, and the European People's Democracies in the lead--successfully blocked the dangerous atomic drive of American capitalism for world conquest and domination. This great accomplishment was registered in fact at the famous Big Four 'summit' conference at Geneva in 1955. While the grave war danger that had been hanging over the world for several years was thus eased, the still precarious character of today's peace is emphasized by this country's threatening diplomacy and by the building of additional American atomic war bases in various countries of Europe and the Middle East. Only Socialism can finally ensure world peace."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis
of Socialism and Democratic
Movements Under Capitalism,"
Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 36.

"Above all, socialism when universal--and socialism in America would just about mean that--will render war obsolete. Wars are fought for something not just out of 'combative instincts.' It is the drive for greater expansion of capital and profit, for exploitation of foreign peoples and markets that has been the basic cause of war in this century. These causes will disappear under socialism."

The Worker,
May 5, 1957, p. 10.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Current prosperity is based on expenditures for armaments and on foreign investments through which workers in other nations are exploited.
2. The "do-nothing" policy of the Republican Administration is encouraging inflation.
3. Our economy is now in one of its "periodic downturns."
4. The economic policies of the Republican Administration are leading to further unemployment.
5. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
6. An expanded program of social welfare is needed to retard the developing economic crisis.
7. Sentiment is increasing for the need to form an antimonopoly coalition led by the labor movement.
8. Marxism-Leninism is gaining increasing recognition as the "theoretical guide" of the workers of the world.
9. The class struggle is continuing in the United States.
10. Socialism can be achieved in the United States by peaceful means.
11. The United States will achieve socialism in accordance with its own "history and tradition, circumstances and institutions."
12. The Communist Party, USA, is working to achieve unity with other socialist organizations.
13. The Communist Party, USA, must be revitalized so that it can provide the leadership for the struggles of the American working class.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Prosperity

"... The 'good times' of job plenty won't last forever....

"These 'good times' are based on the arms boom and the exploitation of oppressed workers overseas, who furnish sugar, oil, rubber, strategic metals and many other things to the empire homeland. And many of the empire's victims are rebelling already.

"Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. We are in that stage today. And when we fight against monopoly we must keep the future in view.

"That future is socialism. We can not go back to the system of cutthroat competition that preceded monopoly. We must go forward to what Joe Hill called the 'Commonwealth of Labor,' when the machinery of production will be owned by the people, and run for the people."

The Worker,
August 25, 1957, p. 10.

"THE FUTURE length of the boom is intimately involved with developments in international affairs, notably the disarmament conference in London. Success there will not precipitate a slump, owing to slackened arms production. That can and may well be far more than compensated by the opening up of East-West trade, and by the rapid growth of the still-stagnant peaceful atomic energy industry in the United States. The possibilities were dramatically shown by the coming out of leading Democratic Senators for a new look at China trade barriers.

"Success in London, combined with a break through on East-West trade, can add several years to the boom. But victory is far from

assured on either of these fronts, owing to the determined opposition of powerful monopolists connected with the arms business and the most predatory foreign investments. "

The Worker,
June 23, 1957, p. 14.

2. Inflation

"Inflation is the dominant topic in the home today. Since March, 1956, the dollar lost about five cents of its purchasing value. The cost of living dollar, NOT counting taxes, is now about 48 cents of the pre-World War I dollar in terms of the things and services you buy. But we have not yet felt the full impact of recent developments on purchasing value. We are only beginning to feel the influence of the Eisenhower Administration's 'tight-money' policy."

Daily Worker,
August 30, 1957, p. 5.

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, in his press conference last Thursday, continued with his stock answer to questions on the now alarming inflation danger--that the alternative to 'voluntary restraints' is government controls over prices and wages. This, he said, would be 'the beginning of the end' or, we presume, the start of the 'socialism' with which he threatened us at the previous press conference when asked the same question.

"The President's policy, in short, is a do-nothing policy. That was substantially the policy of his Republican predecessor, Herbert Hoover, who also waited for the 'natural laws' of capitalist economics to work themselves out. And they certainly did."

"The people the administration represents may like things to continue just as they are--and for obvious reasons. But that isn't the position.

of the workers and the small-incomed people in general, who require a true economic security program--a program that is incorporated in the many measures now collecting dust in Congress."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 8, 1957, p. 5.

3. Economic Outlook

"The picture we now get is a decline in major production fields, increase in the unemployment level, a fall in capital goods investment and expansion, fall in construction, an 'overcapacity' in the key basic industries, but in contrast with past experiences in such situations, the continued inflationary trend and a greater difficulty to obtain loans for investment or production."

The Worker,
September 1, 1957, p. 2.

"The facts appear to indicate that our capitalist economy is exhibiting its classic cyclical tendency, and is now on the downbeat.

"This does not mean we're predicting an economic crisis around the corner. Powerful U.S. capital still has reserves at its disposal, and has learned how to cushion shocks to the economy. We do say the trend now is downward."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 23, 1957, p. 2.

"But the one element that stands out most emphatically as the current downturn unfolds is that notwithstanding the 'built-ins' and the other influences, the basic laws that produce periodic downturns in the capitalist economy remain in force. They cannot be ended within the framework of an economy for profit."

The Worker,
December 1, 1957, p. 4.

"With public ownership of the means of production and planned economy, it is clear that the system would be free from the basic contradictions of capitalism, the discrepancy between the continually increasing capacity to produce and the limitation of the market."

The Worker,
May 5, 1957, p. 10.

4. Unemployment

"Hundreds of thousands of workers are feeling the disastrous, tragic effects in joblessness and short hours. Where millions of those laboring in industry used to depend on overtime to make it possible to live decently, today the average industrial work week has actually dropped to below 40 hours. And this is not because labor is generally winning a normal shorter work week.

"Insecurity is once again gripping the workers of the land."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 23, 1957, p. 2.

"THE LONG ISLAND aircraft-producing area is now getting the same treatment the southern California aircraft plants received some weeks earlier. Thousands have been laid off. Thousands more are due for layoff, government procurement officials say. Hundreds of thousands suffered elimination of overtime pay they had been earning steadily for years."

"...This only shows that those who build their future welfare on the basis of military work aren't building a secure future.

"The layoffs in military work coincide with the far heavier unemployment in the economy generally, with auto workers among the worst sufferers. It is now conceded even by the apologists for the corporations that we are sliding into a decline. The AFL-CIO executive council has rightly warned of this decline and that the Eisenhower administration's economic policies are speeding us towards it..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 15, 1957, p. 5.

5. Taxes

"...taxes paid by workers and other low-income groups are a fantastic distortion of principles of taxation, especially the income tax. It is high time we went back to at least the pre-war exemption of \$2, 500 per couple, while continuing the present exemption of \$600 per additional dependent. Even this, at current dollar value, soaks the worker to a far greater degree than pre-war taxes. Such a tax cut calls for a sharply reduced budget."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

"Now, it seems, the Republicans have their eye on next year's Congressional elections. And the Democrats are also preparing to make taxes the issue. But what do they mean by a 'tax cut?' We have had a couple of tax cuts since Eisenhower took office. But they were cuts favoring only the corporations and upper income groups. The workers are still paying the same rate levied in the days before the dollar dropped 20 to 25 percent in purchasing power.

"We know of course the often stated guide-view of the Eisenhower administration: that aid to business eventually 'trickles down' to the little people. Is that what Mr. Eisenhower has in mind?

"It would seem that labor and its friends among the people ought to get into this situation with vigor and both feet NOW to bring out the sentiment for the kind of tax cut the people really want and need. And if, as even the President admits, a tax cut would 'loosen up' the economy, there is clearly a sense of urgency on the issue...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 5, 1957, p. 5.

6. Social Welfare Program

"PERSISTENT REPORTS from Washington indicate that all economic and social welfare bills before Congress favored by labor and its allies are stalled.

"... These bills include minimum wage expansion, aid for chronically depressed areas, changes in the Taft-Hartley Law, school aid and expansion of public housing construction."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 10, 1957, p. 5.

"We have learned long ago that the politicians, whether of the Republican or Democratic Party, will move only when they are forced to by the pressure of the mass of Americans. It is time for the labor movement, for its allies among the small businessmen, the farmers, the Negro people, to unite to demand that the Administration get off its back and begin to move to counter the developing crisis.

"ELEMENTS of a program for this have been projected by the labor movement, the Communist Party and others. They include such steps as:

"Large-scale building of the things our people need desperately-- more schools, public housing, hospitals, recreation areas, other necessary public works.

"Sharp tax reduction for low-income groups through substantial increase of exemptions to bring them more into line with what it actually costs to live.

"Support for labor's demands upon states for increased jobless pay, backing for its struggle to win a 'guaranteed annual wage,' and a shorter work week without reduction in pay.

"A vigorous push to compel the next session of Congress to increase the minimum wage to \$1.25 and to expand coverage.

"We do not claim these things will prevent an economic crisis. We do know they can tend to slow its development and its shock upon the workingclass."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 23, 1957, p. 2.

"We favor a welfare, not a warfare, budget. We favor a government program of economic security--not of monopoly profiteering...."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 8.

7. Antimonopoly Coalition

"A FURTHER CONFIRMATION of the amazing pace in the concentration of America's wealth into fewer hands since the end of the war came in a report of Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney's anti-monopoly committee, announced Wednesday. One indication of the content of the study is the disclosure that the 50 largest manufacturing firms accounted in 1954 for 23 percent of the total national value added by manufacturing, compared to 17 percent in 1947. In just seven years they show a 41 percent increase in their share of the value added to manufacturing. And it is well known that since 1954 the process of concentration of capital has been developing at an even speedier pace."

"The congressional concern for the growing power of monopolies is largely the result of pressure from the millions of people of small, middle and even some larger businesses that are at the mercy of the oligarchs and of the farm and labor organizations. What we are witnessing is a growing protest movement that eventually will shape into an aggressive anti-monopoly coalition in America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 12, 1957, p. 5.

"...there is need for a people's antimonopoly movement, led by labor, to combat monopolistic tyranny in many fields."

"The long-range problem of big business monopoly awaits solution through public ownership under a socialist government."

Editorial, The Worker,
June 9, 1957, p. 4.

8. Validity of Marxism-Leninism

"The greatest of all the individual achievements of the forces of Socialism, however, has been to bring Marxism, enriched during the past half century with Leninism, ever more to the front as the theoretical guide of the world's working class and its political allies. Marxism-Leninism is the end-product of the decades-long ideological conflicts among Anarchists, Syndicalists, Revisionists, pure and simple trade unionists, and other labor currents. Marxism-Leninism has proved over and over again in the daily class struggle, and in the fire of successful revolution, that it points the way, both to the most successful struggle for the workers' interests under capitalism and to the abolition of capitalism and the building of Socialism. It has already become the most dominant world labor theory and program of action, and its prestige and influence are irresistibly on the increase. At the present time--freeing itself from Stalinist bureaucratic and doctrinaire excesses, largely the products of many years of super-disciplined revolutionary struggle, and also curing itself from a recent infection of Right-revisionism, produced primarily by the post-war effects of the capitalist 'boom,' particularly that of American imperialism--Marxism-Leninism, flexible and adaptable, is now taking one of the greatest leaps forward in its progressive history. But this, too, like so many others of Labor's major advances, is not being accomplished without much difficulty and travail."

William Z. Foster; "Joll's History of the Second International," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 51.

"There is no body of scientific thought in the world so alien to outmoded concepts, so dynamic and creative as is Marxism-Leninism and to depart from it under the name of need for change and adaptation to new conditions is a theoretical absurdity of the first order...."

Bob Thompson, "On the Communist Party: Some Problems and Perspectives," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 18.

9. The Class Struggle

"EVEN MARXISM is being re-examined by American Marxists. There's nothing wrong about this. I believe Lenin did the same in his epoch. Every compass needs re-adjusting now and then. But the Marxian compass has shown the main course of history for the past hundred years. I don't agree with those who seem to want to throw out this true and irreplaceable compass.

"They start their error by ignoring the fundamental fact that capitalist society is divided into economic classes, whose interests are contradictory. Out of the struggle of the classes, socialism will be born. It is the only solution for the class struggle.

"To revise Marxism to fit today's problems is necessary. To deny the struggle of the classes is to deny socialism and Marxism. Lovestone, Browder and others did just that. It is a peculiarly American disease, that comes with every boom, as pneumonia comes with winter weather."

The Worker,
October 13, 1957, p. 7.

10. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"...the world capitalist system is not being transformed by the democratic movements into a progressive 'welfare state' or evolved into Socialism. The capitalist state remains an oppressive organ, the basic purpose of which is to further the exploitation of the working class and other toiling masses. And the sole path to Socialism is the abolition of the capitalist system, through organized struggle against the capitalist system, including its state. Socialism is impossible without the revolutionary transformation of society.

"Due to the vast and ever-increasing strength of the anti-capitalist forces, both relatively and absolutely, it has now become possible to accomplish this revolutionary transformation along parliamentary and relatively peaceful lines. But as Mikoyan said at the XXth Congress of the

C.P.S.U., 'the question of the possibility of the peaceful revolution in certain countries should not be confused with reformism. It should be remembered that revolution--peaceful or not peaceful--will always be revolution,*while reformism will always remain a fruitless marking of time.' The road to Socialism is a road of struggle and it cannot be traversed without a strong Marxist-Leninist Party to give leadership to the vast movement of the masses, whose basic trend is inevitably in the direction of Socialism."

"In this general situation two basic Marxist-Leninist policies of the present period are playing an enormous role. The first is the struggle of the peoples for the peaceful coexistence of all nations, regardless of their internal regimes--a policy which tends to unite the vast bulk of the world's peace-loving masses in growing struggle against the imperialist warmakers for the maintenance of world peace. And the second policy is the prospective establishment of Socialism in many countries along parliamentary and relatively peaceful lines--a policy which offers the broadest base for co-operation among all democratic and anti-capitalist forces in their common struggle against the common enemy, monopoly capital, eventually to the point of abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism. It is along this revolutionary path--not out of a progressively evolving capitalist system--that Socialism is coming to the world."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, pp. 43-44-45.

11. American Road to Socialism

"...American Marxists express their opinions on the matter but it is not our province to settle the problems of other socialist countries. Our chief concern is our own country. One thing we have learned is that each country will reach socialism in its own way and that the way of one should not and cannot be imposed on another. This is because each country is different, with its own history and tradition, circumstances and institutions. Socialism

* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

in the United States will therefore come differently and be different in many respects from other countries. This will be so not because we are better than anybody else but because our circumstances are different and because we will learn from the successes and mistakes of others. We are not Titoists, Gomulkaists, Maoists or Khrushchevists. We are American Communists who think for ourselves, stand on our own feet and make our own decisions based on the interests of the American working class, nation and humanity."

Daily Worker,
July 24, 1957, pp. 4-5.

12. Relations with Other Socialist Groups

"ALL SOCIALIST-MINDED people, we believe, will welcome the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education. This forum, under the chairmanship of the Rev. A. J. Muste, is led by a 40-member national committee composed of individuals of diverse socialist thinking.

"The formation of the Forum is especially welcome at this time when there is a revival of interest in socialism in America. This revival not only reflects a process of reappraisal and discussion by many confirmed socialists but also a new interest in the subject in an era of profound political and economic change."

"The position of the Communists with regard to a development of this kind was set forth in the resolution adopted overwhelmingly at their recent national convention. In discussing the question of an eventual united socialist movement, the resolution pointed out that 'the attainment of unity among socialist-minded forces lies along the path of common struggle on the broadest issues facing the American people, in the course of which ideological and tactical questions will become clarified and common bonds be forged.'

" 'It lies along the path of extending the process of frank exchange and discussion that has been taking place during the past year and ensuring that our party at all levels increasingly participates in this process.'

"The Daily Worker agrees with this view and is happy if it has made a modest contribution in the past year toward a freer exchange of ideas. We wish the Forum well and will do whatever we can to promote its stated objectives."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 14, 1957, p. 5.

13. Future of the Communist Party, USA

"The ideology and principles of scientific socialism must be imparted to the labor movement, must be fused with the experiences arising out of the economic and political struggles of the unions, must serve to give a consciousness and direction to these struggles that they are inherently incapable of developing spontaneously. This is the role of the Communist Party with its Marxist-Leninist science and ideology. This is why a party such as the Communist Party has a historic, not a transient place in the ranks of the working class. This is why there is not only a past, but also a future. This is why the Communist Party must not only be retained--it must be built."

Bob Thompson, "On the Communist Party:
Some Problems and Perspectives,"
Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 17.

"...we are sure that we will revitalize our Communist Party and augment its mass ties and influence, promote the class consciousness and independent role of labor, and help forge a broad democratic front of struggle of the working people in our own country--Communist and non-Communist, labor and non-labor, Negro and white--so as to more effectively champion civil rights and liberties, economic and social welfare, the cause of proletarian internationalism and world peace, national liberation and social progress."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and
the USSR," Political Affairs, November,
1957, p. 9.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The present Administration is a government "of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich."
2. The "lust for profits" is responsible for higher prices.
3. Congress should investigate the relation between wages, prices, and profits.
4. Small businesses should receive increased Government assistance.
5. The labor movement should launch a drive for higher wages since the Republican Administration is trying to prevent wage increases.
6. The Congressional hearings on racketeering in labor unions are designed to set the stage for the enactment of antilabor legislation.
7. The drive to secure passage of "right-to-work" laws is being carried on under the pretext of protecting the rights of the individual members of labor unions.
8. The demand for a shorter work week is the most important issue for the labor movement.
9. Labor unity cannot be achieved by the expulsion of unions from the AFL-CIO.
10. The need for independent political action by the labor movement is steadily increasing.
11. Communists have a "special and indispensable role" in the labor movement.
12. Proletarian internationalism will promote friendship between the capitalist and socialist nations.

13. Only socialism can solve the problems of our complex, highly industrialized society.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Big Business Dominates the Present Administration

"...the Emperors of Finance and their dukes and deputies are no longer invisible in Washington. They hold the big jobs in the Eisenhower administration, and set its policies too. And they are the President's playmates as well. For they make up his golf foursome and fill his bridge tables. And they occupy most of the chairs at Ike's stag dinners."

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"We might as well face the facts of 1957. This is not a people's government in any sense of the word. It is a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. And Washington is the political world capital of the Emperors of Finance."

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"This is a mighty empire that dominates the capitalist world. And the main job of ruling it is not entrusted to elected presidents any more. Elected officials have less and less to say in Washington today...."

"The main job is done by financier-politicians. I mean men like John Foster Dulles, the nickel magnate and Rockefeller banker; Allan W. Dulles, the former Schroder banker, who used to represent Nazi interests; Charles E. Wilson, the General Motors tycoon; Lewis L. Strauss, the Rockefeller financial adviser, who heads the Atomic Energy Commission, and other Wall Street leaders.

"THESE fellows could not be elected to anything. But they run the empire none the less. The facts can not be denied. For the biggest posts in Ike's administration are filled by Wall Street appointees. And more than 100 big money men are doing their 'tour of duty' in Washington today."

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"CONGRESS is still elected. But its power is less than before. The big empire deals (like the Eisenhower Doctrine) are worked out by 'tour of duty' men before Congress sees them...."

"The people don't have a look in. And they can't feel safe until the emperors of finance are out of these decisive posts.

"THE 'tour of duty' men also dominate the people's life at home. They shift the taxes from the capitalist to the worker. They sanction price increases. They give away natural resources to the big power companies. They give arms contracts to their own companies, and net fantastic profits. They curb the trade unions as much as they can and control the government's collective bargaining machinery. And they send the FBI after patriots who protest.

"... We are living under a system of State Monopoly Capitalism...

"And State Monopoly Capitalism is a system of transferring funds from the poor to the rich at a faster rate than before. It doubles the strength of the exploiters by bringing the power of the government and the power of the capitalist together."

The Worker,
August 25, 1957, pp. 3, 10.

2. Profits and Prices

"What has the President done to veto the high profits for those awarded the lush government contracts? What has the administration done to even restrain profits? Absolutely nothing because the sacred law of capitalism is what they call 'free enterprise' and 'unlimited profits.' That is at the core of the administration's philosophy...."

"The drive for maximum profits is the real pressure that brings higher prices. The cost of production or market conditions don't figure where monopolies hold sway. To use Senator Kefauver's term, they 'administer' prices without regard for the factors that once were decisive in the capitalist economy."

The Worker,
September 22, 1957, p. 5.

"It is the lust for profits by the trusts and monopolies that explains the new steel rise. It is their economic and political power in our country that increases the monopolists lust for profit more and more. They have no need to fear competitors, or Congress or the Federal Administration. They fear only labor and the people."

The Worker,
May 26, 1957, p. 14.

"The charge that monopolies fix prices and bring on inflation by their unrestrained drive for super-profits, is not new, of course. It is as old as the fight against the trusts. But in the recent period we have experienced far more intense monopolization and extermination of the weak, than any time in the past. We have come to a point where competition in many fields is so obviously a mockery that the old explanations are as unconvincing as bed-time stories. The cry against monopolies is spreading and growing more intense. The law-makers in Washington and in the states feel more pressure on this and related questions than on any others."

Daily Worker,
July 12, 1957, p. 5.

3. Congressional Investigation of Excess Profits

"THE TRADE UNION movement has renewed with fresh vigor its demand for a full congressional investigation of the wage-price-profit-investment policies of the big corporations. It wants a determination of the

responsibility for the current inflation trend that has brought the ninth consecutive monthly rise in the government's cost of living index to the all-time high of 19.6 percent above pre-Korea prices--almost four percent above a year ago--with no end in the spiral in sight. "

The Worker,
July 7, 1957, p. 1.

"The protest against the steel trusts holdup, it seems, is now strong enough to make a full-dress congressional investigation of monopoly price and profit practices--and their false publicity to cover them up--a realistic possibility. Senator Kefauver's anti-monopoly committee is preparing for such an inquiry. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 1, 1957, p. 5.

"The labor movement has been demanding a serious congressional investigation into the wage-price-profit policies of these 'price-setting' industries. Such an inquiry is long overdue.

"Greater vigor behind labor's demand for such an inquiry can force the spotlight where it belongs. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 27, 1957, p. 5.

4. Small Business

"Although the politicians put small business on a pedestal along with God, motherhood, the flag and the dollar, they seem disinclined to do much to help it. And help is what it wants, for in a time of record-breaking profits for big business, little business isn't getting its share.

"Statistics seem to prove the little man's complaint that he is being squeezed out. . . .

"Among manufacturing firms, the smaller man's share of total sales has plunged from 19 percent in 1947 to 13 percent in 1955; profits from 14 percent to under five percent.

"While the big boys grow fatter, the small boys tighten their belts."

"Dun and Bradstreet, compiler of the failure statistics, states flatly that 90 percent go under because of inexperience and incompetence. Other analysts point to factors more significant than 'inexperience and incompetence.' One thing they point to is the merger boom."

"Another factor in the pinch on small business is tax discrimination. While the Republican big business administration gives fast tax write-offs to General Motors, Alcoa and other huge 'defense' firms, and lets oil companies get off tax free on their juicy Middle East operations, it provides few loopholes for the small and medium-sized firms....

"BIG corporations hogged 83 percent of the \$21 billion spent by the Pentagon last year for military equipment and supplies. Small business got the crumbs left over from the feast."

"But the biggest truth of all is that no small firm, no matter how efficient and aggressive, can compete with a giant...."

"In competition for markets between big and little rivals the strength, as usual, is with the biggest contenders."

"The dogma of the day is: Grow or go under. And the small businessman finds investment capital tough to come by. This is partly due to the Federal Reserve Boards tight money policy. But the biggest cause is the refusal of banks to take the bother and risk of lending money to small concerns when they can lend huge hunks to big firms, with whom they often have interlocking directorships."

The Worker,
May 5, 1957, pp. 10, 14.

5. Wages

"Take Joe Average-Factory-Worker. In August his weekly take-home pay, to care for three dependents, was \$75.13, compared to \$73.06 in August 1956. The extra 2.8 percent that he gets in take-home doesn't stay in his pocket long; in fact, his pay vanishes faster than last year because it cost him, his wife, and two children, 3.6 percent more to live this year than last.

"The President's only solution to the problem is to bar wage hikes. . . ."

Editorial, The Worker,
October 6, 1957, p. 4.

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S pocket veto of the federal pay raise bill, which was passed by Congress by a big majority, is more than a hint of what the government's role will be as the struggle for the 1958 wage round gets under way. In his veto statement, the President said the pay-hike voted for 1, 500, 000 federal workers is 'unfair, unnecessary, inflationary and a menace to the national lebt limit.' "

"The President's statement is clearly more directed against pay increases for many millions of workers in private industry than for those

in government service. It is even more blunt than his earlier statements in which he called on employers and unions to 'voluntarily' restrain price increases and wage demands.

"As some labor leaders pointed out, the clear inference in that appeal was that wage raises are the cause of price increases and that the employers merely follow a wage rise with a price hike."

"THE PRESIDENT has deliberately kept away from profits because his government rests primarily on the domination of those who drive for UNLIMITED profits. That leaves nothing in the President's message but an appeal to the workers of those who dominate his administration, to refrain from asking for raises."

Daily Worker,
September 9, 1957, p. 5.

"What is needed is united action of the trade union movement to launch a national drive for a shorter work week at increased pay. Let's save the moonlight for rest and relaxation rather than for exhausting overtime or dual jobs. The profit-swollen corporations can well afford to meet this demand. Danger signals in such communities as Detroit--where 7,000 workers per month are exhausting unemployment compensation rights and 2,000 eviction requests are being filed monthly--should warn that labor can't afford to postpone this fight."

The Worker,
May 19, 1957, p. 15.

6. Labor Racketeering

"BIG BUSINESS has pulled out all stops and the drive to clamp new shackles on the labor movement in the coming session of Congress is on full blast. The drive, as everyone knows, has been warming up for some time,

especially since last January when the McClellan Committee of the Senate began its hearings on racketeering in unions. . . . "

"By the time the poison campaign is over, the public is to believe that the headquarters of every little union local is the power center for crime, inflation and political corruption."

The Worker,
October 20, 1957, p. 11.

"The tactics of the employers and their political agents, if not entirely new, are cunningly conceived, well organized, and meeting with some success.

"The strategy is to exploit the issue of racketeering and corruption in the labor unions in order to create an increasingly anti-labor climate. This is designed not only to pave the way for new anti-labor legislation, but also to discourage new organization, to undermine rank-and-file morale, and above all to cripple the economic struggles of the labor movement.

"The object is to divert and paralyze organized labor just when circumstances dictated a new offensive by the labor movement for the shorter work-week, improved working conditions, organization of the South, abolition of discrimination, and greater participation in the country's political life."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs, June, 1957, pp. 1-2.

"No one should be kidded by the committee's objectives. . . . in the overall sense, the object of the committee is to discredit unionism in the public eye; drive a wedge between labor and its natural allies in the countryside

and cities; throw blame on union 'monopolies' for the current inflationary trend; cover up the real criminals, the corporate monopolies, and finally to lay the basis for new antilabor legislation and 'right-to-work' laws, at the next session of Congress...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 18, 1957, p. 5.

"Thus we can expect that the labor racketeering issue will be kept hot continually, at least until next spring. Some very powerful forces are interested in having it that way. The labor movement will be tried and convicted in the newspapers, and over the air channels--just as Communists were."

Daily Worker,
August 14, 1957, p. 5.

"...Currently the big campaign under way in the country is for a set of more anti-labor laws, supposedly as 'cures' for labor's 'troubles.' But it is clearly evident that these proposals provide not brooms to clean up unions, but axes to chop unions down."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 16, 1957, p. 5.

7. "Right-to-Work" Laws

"...there can be no doubt that the movement for 'right-to-work' laws has gained support. Next year will see a renewed drive to get enactment of such laws in some of the major industrial states and there is a strong chance of success in some of them. The racket exposures have undoubtedly won many well-meaning people to the idea that union leaders have to be curbed somehow, and the propagandists of the employers have dinmed it into many ears that 'right-to-work' laws would achieve such end."

Daily Worker,
August 19, 1957, p. 5.

"Clearly, the current attacks on labor are not directed simply against Beck and his ilk. This well-heeled defender of free-enterprise is not the real target. They selected the most odorous and vulnerable culprit as the weakest link so as to be able to make headway without immediately arousing the labor movement and in order to provide the necessary smoke screen for the real objective...."

"Under the pretext of protecting the rights of union members, the employers and their stooges in the various state legislatures have put first among their objectives a big push to enact everywhere the notorious 'Right-to-Work Laws,' renamed by the labor movement as 'Right-to-Scab' laws."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs, June, 1957, p. 3.

8. Shorter Work Week

"WE HAVE been talking so much in recent years about the 'problem' of automation and the many new elements in the technology and composition of the working class that came with it, that we tend to almost overlook the fact that the labor movement is going over from discussion to ACTION on the problem: that some of our major, strongest, 'pattern-setting' unions have reached the decision that a fight for shorter hours is the IMMEDIATE step--even if it isn't the full answer.

"An important practical, although formal, step, was taken in that direction earlier this month, which may well prove to be historic, in the sense that it was the first move in the current shorter-hours movement to actually put the issue to the employers for ACTUAL BARGAINING next spring. A letter was sent by Walter Reuther to the six auto companies informing them of the auto union's recent convention decision to make the shorter work week and more take-home pay the major collective bargaining objective in the spring of 1958...."

"THIS is not just another shorter hours movement. We are really heading towards the first decisive 'Battle of Automation.'..."

"THE very fact that the UAW has put the shorter work week on the bargaining table, has put the issue on a more REALISTIC level and is heading it to the bargaining tables of the steel, machinists, electrical, oil, and other unions....

"As might have been anticipated, General Motors would not even agree to 'explore.' The answer from the employers is 'No.' The important point, however, is that bargaining on the shorter work week has begun--still in the newspaper and in the letter-writing stage--but it has BEGUN! "

The Worker,
May 19, 1957, pp. 3, 14.

"IT LOOKS like battle. Every step to come will be in the warmup stage--to educate the workers, the communities of the auto towns, the small business and professional people. Also, to tighten up the tremendous union's strength and instill in the membership a feeling the shorter workweek or day is a REALISTIC possibility....

"Then will follow the stage where the workers will come close enough to their enemies to 'see the blue of their eyes.' And they'll be working towards the 'zero hour.' "

Daily Worker,
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

"... The United Auto Workers and other major unions have placed the shorter workweek at the top of their collective bargaining demands. By the end of this year, the UAW will enter bargaining, and by next spring

we may be in the midst of a gigantic struggle--the first historic showdown on automation. The entire labor movement should give its major attention to developments leading towards that struggle."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 13, 1957, p. 5.

9. Labor Unity

"There is a serious danger of a harmful split in the labor movement if the proposals of some labor leaders for suspension of the IBT,* including the chartering of a rival Teamsters Union, are followed. Some lessons should have been learned from the experience in the Longshoreman's situation on the Eastern coast, not to mention the tragic history of the expulsion of the progressive-led unions in 1949."

"...Expulsions would both divide labor and give the corrupt influences a chance to rally support for themselves as the 'defenders of the unions.' The direction of AFL-CIO policy should not be expulsions but the encouragement and support of rank-and-file movements to clean out the racketeers inside labor and to defeat those who would destroy the labor movement from within and without...."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs,
June, 1957, pp. 13-14.

"This paper and we are sure all progressives in labor favor the most vigorous measures to clean out corruption, especially through the rank and file. For that reason we look with optimistic hope on the rising rank and file revolt against the Becks in the IBT itself. Every possible encouragement and support should be given such sentiment. But no expulsions--nothing that would harm labor unity--because it is bad for labor and would play into the hands of the corrupt elements."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 9, 1957, p. 5.

*This refers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America.

10. Labor's Political Activity

"... A great gap exists between the popular movements on issues (civil rights, H-bomb ban and the like) and the prevailing political forms and alignments which thwart the popular will. More and more the need emerges for a political realignment led by labor and directed against the trusts that will give effective political expression to the growing people's coalition on issues."

"With the main period of the campaign still ahead, the 1957 elections offer a real challenge to Communists and other progressives to seek out and act on every possibility of advancing the fight for the people's needs and for independent political action."

Daily Worker,
August 29, 1957, p. 5.

11. Communists in the Labor Movement

"The Communists and Left forces have a special and indispensable role to play in this complicated and many-sided process within the labor movement."

"These developments point up the fact that the struggle is never finished; that under capitalism no gains can be considered permanent unless constantly reinforced and protected by struggle, strength, and organization. With this goes the corollary that the working-class movement cannot stand still; that it must advance or be pushed back. The theory that the monopolists have adapted themselves to the existence of powerful unions and have no further ideas of weakening or destroying them is false."

"Those who think that the Communist Party and a Left current in the labor movement can be dispensed with, since Socialism is not an immediate issue and the trade unions and other peoples organizations are taking care of immediate needs, are making a grievous error. Elemental and spontaneous movements cannot advance satisfactorily and will face all sorts of pitfalls and traps unless the genuine and conscious Left and Communist forces are able to help."

"These forces must do their best to contribute to the clearest grasp of the issues and challenges before the labor movement, to show the interconnection between these complex struggles, to help give them conscious direction and purpose, and thus, to help achieve the successful outcome of these new rising movements. We must do this with a frank recognition of our limitations and with utmost modesty and realism. We must learn the lessons-- from the good and bad experiences of the past."

Fred M. Fine, "The Anti-Labor Drive and Business Unionism," Political Affairs, June, 1957, p. 15.

"The Communist parties everywhere, including the CPUSA, must also be alert to carry out their fundamental vanguard role in the modern conditions of complex class struggle. The workers and their allies have the most basic need for resolute and clear-sighted Marxist-Leninist leadership at the present time, in order to meet their many new problems...."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 45.

12. Proletarian Internationalism

"...Every Communist Party, must, of course, root its policies in the specific needs of its own working class and people, but it cannot meet this requirement unless at the same time it displays the strongest spirit of proletarian internationalism. Such internationalism is especially demanded in this period by the whole complex of problems presented by the varied relations of world Socialism and world democracy toward each other."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 45.

"...America's progressives, particularly the Communists, are resolved to do all in their power to promote American-Soviet-Sino friendship and cooperation. There is a growing political awareness in our land--among Communists and many Socialists and militant trade unionists--that international unity of action of America's toilers with their fellow-workers in the USSR and China, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Syria and Egypt, India and Indonesia, Ghana and Argentina--is more essential than ever to safeguard the national interests of the American people and to advance peace and progress."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 8.

13. Workers Need Socialism

"...Automation--which under a socialist system could produce abundance plus jobs for all--is dumping tens of thousands onto the unemployment compensation lines while industrialists and politicians make sympathetic noises."

The Worker,
June 23, 1957, p. 2.

"...the country's future must lie in acceptance of the latest production devices, of electricity, atomic energy, automation and all the machinery for mass well-being. This raises complex problems that add up to one great question--shall the people perish with capitalism or survive with socialism?"

"We who believe that the people, in the course of struggles led by the working class, will choose life and socialism, can understand why Khrushchev so confidently predicted the future economic system under which America's grandchildren would live."

The Worker,
July 7, 1957, p. 10.

IV. AGRICULTURE

1. The agricultural policy of the Republican Administration is designed to eliminate the small-scale farmers.
2. Farm price supports should be continued.
3. The labor movement should intensify its efforts to organize the agricultural workers.
4. Farmer-labor unity, based on an antimonopoly program, will further the efforts of both groups to achieve their economic, legislative, and political goals.
5. The agricultural program of the Communist Party, USA, calls for increased Federal assistance to alleviate the plight of the small-scale farmers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Small-Scale Farmers

"...Since 1951, however, we have witnessed a period of economic recession in agriculture."

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"Increased mechanization of farming and rising costs have accentuated and accelerated the trend to large-scale agriculture. Capital requirements have ballooned upward. As a consequence, the small farmer is being rapidly eliminated, and large-scale agriculture grows by leaps and bounds. This trend exists apart from the ups and downs in farm prices and the ups and downs of the economic picture generally. The larger and richer farmers and corporation farms are able to withstand the fluctuation in market prices and generally continue to prosper and increase their holdings while the small farmers and sections of the middle-income farmers, who lack sufficient capital to meet the technological developments, are being driven off the land.

"This trend in agriculture is consciously promoted by government policies favoring the big farmers, corporation farms and trusts. Government policies speed up the elimination of the small and marginal farm operator. Only mass struggles have won concessions for the family-size farmers...."

National Committee, CPUSA, "An Agricultural Policy for the United States," Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 23.

2. Farm Price Supports

"SECRETARY of Agriculture Benson has carefully timed the launching of his campaign to gut farm price supports. He plans to swing the anti-price support campaign into the wake of the Chamber of Commerce drive to slash the welfare items in the federal budget.

"Benson argues that price supports should be cut because they do not benefit the smallest farmers. But it is now two years since Benson issued a program allegedly concerned with succoring the smallest farmers. That program has raised not the slightest obstacle to the elimination of more thousands of small farmers since it was published."

"The inadequacies of existing farm legislation are certainly a poor reason for destroying it. Nor is that Benson's reason. He has in mind, as does Big Business, the expulsion of several million small and medium-size farmers from agriculture.

"The welfare of the bulk of the farmers, and of the nation make necessary that Benson's campaign be stopped in its tracks."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 12, 1957, p. 4.

3. Organize the Agricultural Workers

"...organization of agricultural workers was never seriously put on American labor's agenda. Even in its latest resolution, last August, the AFL-CIO is mainly interested in stopping the inflow by contract arrangements of some half million Mexican workers. Nothing is said of unionizing through some forms of the million domestic migratory workers and the half million tenant farmers in the below \$1,000 a year category who must hire out for part of the year.

"The 'practical' labor leader says it is impossible to organize agricultural workers. They aren't stable, it is too expensive to keep track of them, etc.

"It is becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the plight of migrant workers is one of major downward pressures on wages generally in the country. The real question is; Can labor afford to delay serious efforts to bring organization and leadership for the migrant workers?

"Justice for the migrant workers was long an issue. But now, with the much widened gap between their earnings and those of urban workers, a lift for the agricultural worker and part-time tenant-farmer is urgent for the preservation of general wage standards."

Daily Worker,
November 18, 1957, p. 2.

"Several million farm laborers are the most impoverished people in our country. Most of them are migrant. Many belong to Negro, Mexican, Indian and other national minorities. A major task for the working class and the unified labor movement is to organize these farm laborers and vastly improve their living standards. This would mean fundamental help to some groups of family farmers who are faced with the destructive competition of commodities produced by these super-exploited workers."

National Committee, CPUSA, "An
Agricultural Policy for the United States,"
Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 25.

4. Farmer-Labor Unity

"The fight against the monopolies should be the central issue for the farmer-labor coalition and the cooperatives.

"It should begin with breaking the hold of the big banks on farm credit and making these credits available to the small and middle-income farmers.

"It should intensify the struggle against the electric power trusts' efforts to monopolize public power sites, and to move in on the cooperative farm electrification projects. More steps should be taken to prevent the big power companies from buying power from government projects and reselling it to cooperatives. This fight for public control of power should be extended to atomic plants as well.

"Congressional investigations of the food processing and marketing monopolies such as packing, milling, etc., should be initiated and measures adopted to curb the profiteering.

"The same investigation should be made of the gigantic plunder of the farmers as well as the people generally by the oil trust. This should also apply to the farm implement, fertilizer and power trusts.

"Markets for food should be expanded by fighting to raise minimum wages for millions of underpaid workers.

"Expand the struggle for food export. Oppose the 'cold war' foreign policy which accepts the idea of farm surpluses in a world of millions of starving people.

"Strengthen and improve the farmer-labor economic, legislative and political alliance as the prerequisite for winning such a program."

"Farmer unity and farmer-labor unity must govern our policies and approach. Unity of small and middle farmers, including large

numbers of Negro farmers and sharecroppers is a major problem. The key to this unity is the anti-monopoly position. The struggle against monopoly as the people's enemy is the basic foundation for building and expanding unity...."

Ibid., pp. 24-25.

5. Communist Agricultural Program

"Our attitude to an agricultural program should be based on a many-sided approach including price supports, surplus disposal, Federal credits, crop insurance, conservation, supplementary income, modernization of farming communities, better roads, schools, recreation centers, etc.

"The program should be concerned with protecting the incomes and living standards of the small and middle-income farmers. It should be directed toward making it possible for these farmers to stay on the land and make a living, in the face of the growing trend to big-scale agriculture which is eliminating these people as farmers and driving them off the land.

"Generally, progressive support should be given to the programs advanced by such groups as the Farmers' Union for these farmers, with the aim of giving full parity income to them. Emphasis should be on the use of production payments to implement price supports. These payments should be limited to small-income farmers; it is necessary to oppose the use of a farm program to enrich further the large and corporation farmers.

"All government programs should be administered by elected farmer committees.

"A great expansion and democratization of administration should be developed for Federal credits to these small and middle-income farmers.

"We should raise sharply the issue of modernizing the farm communities in terms of schools, roads, hospitals, recreation centers and drought, flood and irrigation projects...."

Ibid., pp. 23-24.

COLONIALISM

1. Imperialism is responsible for poverty throughout the world.
2. The struggle against colonialism is gaining momentum.
3. The fact that colonialism is on the wane signifies a gain for the socialist movement.
4. Socialism is opposed to colonialism.
5. The United States is supporting the colonial policies of Great Britain and France.
6. British imperialism has been reduced to a "junior partner of American imperialism."
7. Algeria should be granted complete independence from France.
8. Cyprus should be granted the right of self-determination as the first step toward its union with Greece.
9. The United States has assumed complete control of Formosa.
10. West New Guinea should be turned over to Indonesia.
11. Turkey is now under occupation by the United States.
12. The United States dominates Latin America "economically, politically and militarily."
13. The 1957 elections in British Guiana represent a defeat for the British policy of "colonial repression."
14. The United States should discontinue its support of the Rojas regime in Colombia.
15. The United States should discontinue its support of the "reactionary" present Government of Cuba.

16. Guatemala is a symbol of "Yankee imperialism."
17. Although it enjoys the status of a commonwealth, Puerto Rico is far from being a sovereign nation.
18. Venezuela is a "Standard Oil colony."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Imperialism Brings Poverty

"Widespread undernourishment and hunger existed throughout recorded history. But one of the fundamental distinguishing features of the modern epoch, as contrasted with all preceding eras, is the fact that man's productive and technical knowledge have advanced to the point where today no human being need go hungry, but for the existence of removable social injustices and inadequacies."

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"...despite reforms and nostrums and experiments and even real advances, the fact still remains that two-thirds of humanity goes to sleep hungry, and little children are sold for a bowl of rice in Indonesia."

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"...the basic cause of world-wide impoverishment is imperialism--particularly Anglo-American imperialism, and the financial, trade and political policies derived from that imperialism."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, June, 1957, pp. 25-26.

2. Struggle against Colonialism

"...But, as in the case of world peace, the oppressed peoples of the world faced by the most desperate need for immediate relief, cannot and will not wait until the arrival of world Socialism to break their colonial shackles. The anti-colonial struggle dates back to the first American Revolution and beyond, but the historic Russian Revolution in 1917, of which anti-imperialism was a basic constituent, gave the initial big impulse to the current vast anti-imperialist, anti-colonial movement, and it has also been further stimulated by the great Chinese Revolution of this decade. Now Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (with Latin America soon to come) are aflame with the bitter struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish, Portuguese, and American imperialism. The birth of Ghana, in Africa, is the latest victory of this tremendous movement. Over one-third of the world's population are already actively in this elementary struggle, and their ranks are constantly swelling."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," Political Affairs, August, 1957, pp. 36-37.

3. Decline of Colonialism

"...Meanwhile, the capitalist system although now passing through a hectic economic boom, is confronting a series of mounting difficulties. Most important of these is the disastrous break-down of the colonial system, which was one of the major props of world imperialism. The English, German, French, Japanese, Italian, and Dutch empires have been shattered, and these erstwhile powerful regimes are now all on the dole of the United States...."

William Z. Foster, "People's Capitalism--and Djilas," Political Affairs, November, 1957, pp. 50-51.

"The strength of world Socialism, also reflected in the weakness of world capitalism, is further exhibited by the tremendous break-up

of the colonial system that has been going on since about the end of World War II. This is a major disaster to the capitalist system, and by the same token it brings about a tremendous relative and actual increase of strength for world Socialism...."

William Z. Foster, "Joll's History of the Second International," "Political Affairs, September, 1957, p. 49.

4. Socialism Opposes Colonialism

"...The Socialist world will be one without colonies; hence the existing Socialist countries are inveterate enemies of colonialism in all its forms...."

William Z. Foster, "The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism," "Political Affairs, August, 1957, p. 36.

"While these imperialist apologists who have defended the system of colonial exploitation imposed for centuries by blood and cannon, slander Communism, even they cannot deny the liberating influence of Communism and the help that the Socialist nations are giving to these peoples attaining nationhood for the first time."

The Worker,
August 18, 1957, p. 9.

5. United States Supports Colonialism

"BRITISH PLANES bombed Moslem tribesmen yesterday in the Persian Gulf area of Oman. Yesterday also, French police arrested

1,500 Algerians living in Lyons, France, as part of a legalized terror campaign against the North African colony's liberation movement."

"Imperialism? What else?"

"What about the U. S. in all this? Britain and France are NATO allies. Doubtless they use American arms intended, we are told for the defense of 'freedom,' to crush the efforts of subject people to obtain freedom.

"Will Mr. Dulles' State Department protest the imperialist action of his buddies of Downing Street and the Quai D'Orsay? Or will Dulles hypocritically wash his hands of responsibility for what America's allies do?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 25, 1957, p. 5.

6. British Imperialism

"NEVER WAS BRITISH imperialism in the harried position it is today. Being squeezed out of its remaining colonial bases by U. S. imperialism, with the peoples of Asia and Africa developing an irresistible forward surge for freedom and national liberation, and with dissention among the members of the Commonwealth, it takes all the diplomacy and ingenuity of the 400-year old British empire to meet crisis after crisis and still carry on. While the empire is doomed to defeat, one should not underestimate these gentlemen."

The Worker,
August 18, 1957, p. 9.

"IT IS NOT WITHOUT great difficulty...that British Imperialism and its ruling class adjusts itself to its new role of junior partner of American imperialism."

John Williamson, "Anglo-American
Imperialism: an Unequal Partnership,"
Political Affairs, October, 1957, p. 11.

7. Algeria

"THE FRENCH colonialism in the role of 1957's King Canute, is desperately trying to stave off the rising tide of Arab independence. Algeria's struggle has gained widespread support, here and abroad. It is evident here in the UN among the Asian-African bloc, the Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries, as well as among individual nations in Latin America and in Europe--like Ireland."

"...support for Algerian independence is strong, widespread and growing--both here and abroad...."

"The time has passed, Asian and African delegates assure you, for any colonial power to choke down the surge of independence in the colonies. Their nations are behind Algerian freedom, virtually to a man. The USSR and the socialist delegates have made their stand abundantly clear..."

The Worker,
November 24, 1957, pp. 1, 11.

8. Cyprus

"THE American Empire has bloody allies in the Eastern Mediterranean. Among them are English gentlemen as well as Arab kings. And one of the bloodiest is Field Marshal Sir John Harding, the Governor General and hangman of Cyprus.

"Harding has put to death many Cyprus patriots who want union with Mother Greece...."

"Ike wants to keep this strategic Greek island in imperialist hands. For Cyprus lies close to Asia. It is the military center of the Baghdad alliance, to which Ike is committed. And it points like a pistol at the Arab peoples' heads. It warns them to leave the oil fields alone and to keep their kings on the throne.

"And Cyprus has been used against the Arab peoples before. It was the take-off place for the invasion of Egypt seven months ago. And its jet planes threaten Egypt and Syria today."

"BUT the Cypriot people will settle for nothing less than freedom from imperialist domination. They demand the right of self determination as a step toward union with Greece."

The Worker,
June 2, 1957, p. 3.

9. Formosa

"The cold fact is that the U.S. government took over the Chinese island of Formosa lock, stock and barrel. Even Chiang Kai-shek acknowledges that Formosa is Chinese, bearing the same relation to the mainland as Long Island does to the United States. But our Army, Navy and Airforce swarms over the island. Allen Dulles has set up a major Central Intelligence Agency headquarters there.

"Our economic, technical, political personnel are everywhere. Among them there have been many individuals full of good will to Formosans. But what is that against the fact that Formosa had been taken over by the U.S. and is being used as a base for Chiang Kai-shek's mad dream of a return to power on the mainland?

"This imperialism even continued an ancient trapping of colonialism--extra-territoriality. It is the age-old practice of the colonial occupation forces to give their courts jurisdiction over their personnel even in cases of crimes against the inhabitants of the country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 28, 1957, p. 5.

10. Indonesia

"Following World War II, during which Indonesia (then known as the Dutch East Indies) was occupied by the Japanese, the Indonesian people, led by their liberation movement, proclaimed their independence from the Netherlands on Aug. 17, 1945."

"However, it was agreed that in regard to West New Guinea the status quo would remain, but that within a year its political status would be determined through negotiations between the two parties. Negotiations in 1950 and 1952 failed to reach agreement, and since then the Dutch have refused further talks."

"What has enabled the Dutch to block even the mildest endorsement of negotiations has been support by the British and French governments and the so-called neutrality of the Eisenhower Administration."

"The Indonesians are now making it hot for the Dutch. Can we Americans, who fought for our own independence from alien rule, do other than wish them well in this just struggle?"

Daily Worker,
December 10, 1957, p. 2.

11. Turkey

"TURKEY, like Formosa, has become a U.S. -occupied country. It contains some 8,000 American soldiers, including three generals and an admiral. A network of air and naval bases, built with U.S. taxpayers' money is nominally under Turkish control. These bases are intended to threaten Turkey's next-door neighbors, Syria and the Soviet Union.

"At the same time U.S. big business has been playing the field in Turkey. In 1954 the Turkish government denationalized its oil resources and hung out the 'come and get it' sign to foreign companies. Thirteen of them, mostly American, didn't need a second invitation."

Daily Worker,
October 28, 1957, pp. 2, 4.

12. Latin America

"THE resolution on Latin America notes that 'the Latin American countries are today dominated economically, politically and militarily by the United States Big Business and the United States government.' It 'strongly condemns the policy of the Eisenhower Administration toward Latin America as detrimental both to our nation and our southern neighbors, intensifying the status of the Latin American countries as semi-colonies of U.S. imperialism.'

"The resolution calls on the American people 'to demand a drastic change in Washington policy so as to end all domination and intervention.' It pledges to help strengthen 'fraternal and cooperative relations' between the U. S. and Latin American labor movements and extends greetings to the Latin American Communist parties."

The Worker,
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

13. British Guiana

"THE PEOPLE of British Guiana have again shown they won't allow the British colonial office to do their thinking or voting them.* By its victory at the polls, the Peoples Progressive Party, headed by Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan, has been vindicated in its long struggle against colonial repression.

"This was a defeat for the more disguised schemes of the British colonial office as well as the open flouting of the will of the electorate. In 1955, Dr. Jagan was ousted from office by the British Governor though his party had won a clear-cut majority in free elections...."

* This probably should read "voting for them."

"The threat to the democratic process still exists in British Guiana, however, because it still is BRITISH Guiana. The Governor, who is appointed in London, can appoint up to 11 members of the colony's Legislature. He can also dismiss the whole legislature if they don't do his bidding. Which is quite an ironic comment on those who presume to speak as champions of the 'free' world."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 15, 1957, p. 5.

14. Colombia

"COLOMBIA is the third largest oil producer in Latin America. Its oil industry is dominated by U.S. concerns: Texas Company, Socony Vacuum, Cities Service and others. About half the power stations are controlled by the American and Foreign Power Co.

"The vast majority of the people live in grim poverty, with malnutrition, high infant mortality, widespread infestious disease and high illiteracy characteristic features."

The Worker,
May 12, 1957, p. 5.

"...Dispatches from Colombia tell of widespread strikes, demonstrations and bloodshed. Hospitals are overflowing and teen-aged students are being killed in the streets of Bogota and Cali...."

Daily Worker,
May 13, 1957, p. 5.

"This is the direct affair of American workers because Wall Street millionaires and the State Department are directly responsible for financing and propping up the Rojas regime. Only little more than a week ago the Rockerfellers and a long list of U.S. financiers were awarded medals by the Rojas regime as thanks for bailing out the government.

"Labor and humanity in Colombia cry out to American workingmen and women for help."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 9, 1957, p. 5.

15. Cuba

"The resolution on Cuba condemns the Batista terror against the Cuban people, urges 'full restoration of civil liberties, release of all political prisoners, and lifting of the ban against the Popular Socialist Party, organization of the Cuban Communists.' It demands that 'the Eisenhower Administration cease supporting and manipulating the reactionary dictatorship of Batista.' "

The Worker,
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

16. Guatemala

"THROUGHOUT Latin America where 175,000,000 people--most of whose skins are not white--live in brutal poverty and struggle for a better day--Guatemala has become a symbol of what they consider the greatest evil that afflicts them: imperialismo yanqui (Yankee imperialism).

"The Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, with its fraud about the threat of aggression from 'international communism,' is only a refined version of the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine that three years ago, under the same pretext of combatting 'international communism,' was used to organize, with the help of the United Fruit Co., the armed overthrow of the democratic Arbenz government of Guatemala."

"However, reports from Guatemala, as from Cuba, indicate that the people are continuing the battle for liberation from both homegrown and foreign despots. The trade unions, despite the fact that they have been purged of even slightly leftist elements, are not lagging behind....

"Freedom is contagious. The Wall Street empire in Latin America is beginning to crack at the seams. Certainly our own people have everything to gain and nothing to lose by speeding this process of anti-colonial liberation in our own hemisphere."

The Worker,
June 23, 1957, p. 5.

17. Puerto Rico

"...The false concept of Puerto Rico as having achieved its independence under this phony 'Commonwealth' status is being sold to all colonial and semi-colonial countries by the slickest public relations job of American imperialism. Thus Puerto Rico is being presented by the striped pants gentlemen in Washington and the Wall Street boys as the solution, the exhibit A, the cure-all, the magnificent model to be copied by all the exploited and undeveloped nations of the earth."

Daily Worker,
August 6, 1957, p. 6.

"There are many points to be clarified and understood by the people and many a struggle to be experienced by the Puerto Rican masses before it can really be said truly and absolutely, that Puerto Rico is a sovereign and independent nation."

Daily Worker,
August 20, 1957, p. 6.

18. Venezuela

"VENEZUELA is the second largest crude oil producer in the capitalist world--outstripped only by the U. S. But this vast wealth is chiefly controlled by three foreign companies, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Gulf Oil and Royal Dutch-Shell--the first two American, the third Anglo-Dutch. The Venezuelan government gets a 50-50 cut on their huge net profits. In addition it has in the past year been turning over new concessions to other U. S. oil companies to the tune of \$700,000,000.

"Then there is Venezuelan iron--safely in the hands of U. S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel. Venezuelan iron, still in the early stages of exploitation, promises to be a bonanza second only to oil."

"As for the state of freedom in this corner of the 'free world' among the less publicized public works of the Perez Jimenez regime are the concentration camps and prisons where thousands of Venezuelan patriots are held without trial...."

"Clearly, not all the verbal perfume of Madison Avenue and Washington can hide the odor rising from this Standard Oil colony."

Daily Worker,
July 18, 1957, p. 5.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

- 1. The only significant accomplishment of the first session of the 85th Congress was the enactment of a "diluted" civil rights bill.**
- 2. Congressional committees which investigate communism are conducting inquisitions.**
- 3. The Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley Law, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Walter-McCarran Act should be repealed.**
- 4. Leaders of the Communist Party, USA, who are still serving prison terms for violation of the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.**
- 5. Morton Sobell, now serving a prison term in Alcatraz for conspiracy to commit espionage in behalf of the Soviet Union, should be granted a new trial.**
- 6. The loyalty-security program developed into a "man-hunt" directed against nonconformists.**
- 7. The use of confidential informants is now "widely discredited."**
- 8. McCarthyism "poisoned American life."**
- 9. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the field of civil liberties represent a "magnificent victory" and resulted from the "incessant struggles of the people."**
- 10. Because of its decisions in the field of civil liberties, the United States Supreme Court is under a "sustained attack" by the "segregationists and the cold warriors."**
- 11. The entire Nation should join in expressing support for the decisions of the United States Supreme Court affecting civil liberties.**

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The 85th Congress

"THE 85th CONGRESS at its first session fell down on the job. It failed to carry out the mandate given it by the people last November.

"The one significant achievement was enactment of the civil rights bill. But even this was so limited and diluted in the course of debate that it remains to be seen how effective it will be in practice."

"At his press conference last Tuesday President Eisenhower cited passage of the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine as 'the legislative process at its best.' Millions all over the world--and in our country too--disagree. This was one of the worst actions of the past session of Congress; it has contributed to sharpening tensions in the Middle East and made it more difficult to move toward ending the cold war and achieving peaceful coexistence.

"Also on the minus side were failure to pass legislation to expand the minimum wage law; no revision of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act; failure to expand the measly federal public housing program of 35,000 units a year; no tax cuts for low-income groups; the killing, with Eisenhower's connivance of the \$1,500,000,000 school construction bill; refusal to make any serious revision of the reactionary Walter-McCarran immigration law; passage of the so-called 'FBI bill' to curtail the effectiveness of the recent Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case; failure to provide effective aid to the farmers; the killing, with Eisenhower's help, of a bill to authorize the Hells Canyon Dam in Idaho; passage of a \$3 1/2 billion dollar foreign aid bill that is mostly either directly or indirectly for military purposes.

"On the plus side may be counted Senate approval of the treaty establishing the international atoms-for-peace agency. Apart from the legislative record, the hearings of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee on the effects of radioactive fallout, the hearings of the Hennings civil liberties subcommittee, and some of the work of the Humphrey Joint Disarmament subcommittee proved valuable.

"If the American people are to be spared a repetition of this sad record when Congress reconvenes next January, the folks back home will have to do much more to make themselves heard. Otherwise big business will again run the show. The labor movement, the Negro people, farm organizations, etc. can't start planning too soon for the next session."

Editorial, The Worker,
September 8, 1957, p. 4.

2. Congressional Investigating Committees

"THE INQUISITION had a Holy Office which probed into the faith and morals of the people of Spain. Our question is:

"Now that Joe McCarthy is dead, are Senator Eastland and his Senate Internal Security Subcommittee becoming our Holy Office checking on the political faith and morals of our people?

"The Eastland committee has probed into newspapers, brutally assaulting the First Amendment right of journalists. Its investigation of the late Herbert Norman reputedly drove that Canadian diplomat to suicide. Recently, it scandalized Japan by its examination of Prof. Shigeto Turu, Japanese economist who returned to the United States this year as a visiting lecturer at Harvard.

"Now it has turned its attention to some socialists and communists suspected of having engaged in the subversive activity of common discussion...."

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"The real point is: what right has the Eastland committee or any other congressional body to investigate political discussion?

"Supporters of the Bill of Rights, irrespective of political views, should make their protests heard. Not only should this political inquisition be stopped but the whole undemocratic committee headed by a notorious racist should be abolished."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 21, 1957, p. 5.

"Ten years ago this month 19 Hollywood writers, directors and producers were subpoenaed by the House Un-American Committee in the first of a series of 'investigations' that resulted ultimately in the black--and gray--listing of several hundred film artists and technicians...."

"THE committee continues to roam the land and has been instrumental in blacklisting literally thousands of other citizens--writers, actors, teachers, unionists--from their professions, ruining their reputations in the community, stripping them of their livelihood and -- in many instances--driving them to exile or suicide.

"It remains in bad odor throughout the land, but it remains powerful. Its regular demands for appropriations meet with no dissenting votes in the House of Representatives. And it still considers itself a 'grand inquest,' entitled to smear and run--with impunity.

"Recent U. S. Supreme Court decisions -- handed down in a changing atmosphere -- may curtail the power of this and similarly constituted inquisitorial committees."

"For the Supreme Court...has ruled there is no power in congressional committees to 'expose for the sake of exposure.'..."

The Worker,
October 27, 1957, p. 6.

3. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"Important though the new Court decision is, it is, of course, only a good start. The whole web of poisonous McCarthyite legislation and tyrannical executive procedures still disgraces and defiles our country, including such monstrosities as the Taft-Hartley and Right to Work laws, the Smith, McCarran, and Communist Control Acts, and many other such. We must, however, fully appreciate the vast importance of the Supreme Court's blow at this whole disgraceful antidemocratic network."

Daily Worker,
June 26, 1957, p. 5.

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"In the last analysis it is the people, the real court of last resort, who must decide to sweep the Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley law, the McCarran Act, the McCarran-Walter law and the rest of the McCarthyite cold war relics into history's dust bin."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 16, 1957, p. 4.

"How much longer are the Smith Act prosecutions to continue? How long are Smith Act victims Gilbert Green and Henry Winston to lie in jail? When will those imprisoned under the Smith Act receive presidential pardons so that they can resume full citizenship rights?

"When will the Department of Justice end its harassment of citizens and non-citizens alike? When will the deportation and denaturalization drive under the notorious Walter-McCarren Act cease?"

"When will the whole network of repressive legislation, all aimed at the freedom of expression of the American people, be wiped out so that Americans can freely debate the issues of peace, security and democracy?"

Daily Worker,
June 19, 1957, p. 5.

4. Amnesty for Imprisoned Party Leaders

"The country should speak up loudly and clearly for junking the Smith Act now, ending all prosecutions under it and freeing Gilbert Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash, imprisoned victims of this iniquitous law."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 26, 1957, p. 5.

"High on the priority list of every democratic-minded American should be the prompt release of the remaining Smith Act Victims in jail-- Gilbert Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash. Prompt amnesty for them, a swift end of all Smith Act prosecutions and a presidential pardon for all persons imprisoned under this monstrous and wholly un-American law would be in order.

"Such actions would be in line with the spirit of the June 17 Supreme Court decisions and the democratic feelings of the great mass of Americans. Such actions would help dissipate the cold war atmosphere and help restore throughout the world the good name of our land, so besmirched by the past period of McCarthyism."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 24, 1957, p. 5.

5. The Case of Morton Sobell

"THE SUPREME COURT has the opportunity to redeem our national honor, besmirched in the eyes of the world by the cold-war judicial executions of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

"That opportunity has come to the High Court with the current appeal for a new trial by Morton Sobell, now serving the eighth year of a savage 30 year term in Alcatraz on the paper-thin charge of allegedly conspiring with the Rosenbergs to hand over atomic secrets to our World War II ally, the Soviet Union."

"Throughout the land many people are taking a new look at the Rosenberg-Sobell case. A literature on the subject is growing up, even as one did after the execution 30 years ago of Sacco and Vanzetti.

"In this atmosphere all who love democracy and justice should find it possible to come forward to support the fight for a new trial for Morton Sobell. Elementary fairness to Morton Sobell demands it; a decent regard for democratic justice requires it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 12, 1957, p. 5.

6. Loyalty-Security Program

"...The loyalty-security program--as Dean Acheson testifies in his book, 'A Democrat Looks at His Party'--was wrong. It was a product of the cold war. It actually became a man-hunt for people with non-conformist ideas on peace, civil rights and politics generally. It had nothing to do with genuine loyalty and security, which can never be won by FBI Hawkshaws checking the third cousin of a government forester to find whether he once read The Nation."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 19, 1957, p. 5.

7. Confidential Informants

"...the stable informers* the Department of Justice has been keeping to obtain its thought-control convictions is thinning out and becoming less reliable."

Daily Worker,
May 13, 1957, p. 1.

"...Hoover and Brownell are moving heaven and earth to protect their hateful and widely discredited system of political informers,

"The Jencks decision said bluntly that when the FBI puts an informer on the stand in a trial, it must be prepared to submit to the defense the informer's written reports. Why? So that the accused can cross-examine the FBI stoolpigeon and compare his testimony with his prior written reports."

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"Brownell and Hoover fear fair cross-examination of their paid liars. They know that the frame-up system employed against trade unionists, Negro leaders, Communists and other progressives will crumble altogether once the informer system is smashed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 28, 1957, p. 5.

* This probably should read "the stable of informers."

"Hence the frenzy in Brownell-Hoover circles and their Senate and House pals. They have a vested interest in the witch-hunt and the great anti-labor trusts behind them have an even deeper interest. For if the witchhunt fog is dissolved, and Americans once more speak freely and fearlessly on peace, civil rights and economic security, the power of the men of the trusts will surely be curbed."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 5, 1957, p. 5.

8. McCarthyism

"...In his brief, meteoric career, Joseph McCarthy did great harm to the nation. His was a gospel of hate. His influence was divisive, his teachings warped, his purpose destruction of the democratic process."

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"McCarthyism became a term of shame and terror. It poisoned American life. It made American democracy an object of scorn and derision in other lands. It swept so fiercely and so swiftly across our country that in only a few short years it could destroy age-old rights and entrench itself in positions of power.

"And all this under the cloak of fighting the 'menace' of Communism. And such is the pity, such is the folly of men, that despite the well-advertised fate of Germany and Italy, too many Americans failed at first to see that McCarthy and McCarthyism aimed not alone at Communists but at a larger target and a richer prize."

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"Yet the passing of McCarthy does not mean an end to McCarthyism. That ugly flower of our era grew not from McCarthy alone nor even only for his party. There are witchhunters aplenty left, Democrats as well as Republicans. There are yards of laws and statutes, and armies of bureaucrats enforcing them, still on the books and still being used, in daily tribute to the spirit of McCarthyism."

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* This probably should read "from his party."

"Joseph McCarthy is dead but the damage he did is not yet healed, not even completely halted. McCarthyism lives and it must be rooted out of American life."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 6, 1957, p. 5.

9. Return to the Bill of Rights

"On June 17 the Supreme Court of the United States made history. In a series of decisions which upheld fundamental principles of constitutional democracy, the Supreme Court moved towards reawakening the conscience of the nation, to strengthen national morality and to affirm the integrity of the American people.

"The ruling of the High Court can mean the end to the long nightmare of McCarthy 'legal' terror against constitutional liberties, civil rights and the human dignity of American citizens."

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"Thus, trial by hysteria and judgment by congressional fiat, so destructive to the community life and standing of American citizens and to the security of job and career have been challenged. The day when the political demagogue rode the halls of Congress, the symbol of evil rampant, is coming to an end.

"A magnificent victory has been won in the most significant struggle ever waged in the United States to safeguard the Bill of Rights and the moral and political integrity of people against the subversive and morally corrosive influence of McCarthyism...."

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"What is of historic importance is that the court's decisions dealt a direct blow to the McCarthyism myths of the 'conspiratorial' character of Communism, its 'threat' to democratic institutions and its alleged attachment to a foreign government...."

Daily Worker,
June 25, 1957, p. 5.

"The Court delivered a triple-barreled attack on (1) the Department of Justice and its thought-control Smith Act trials; (2) the free-wheeling Congressional inquisitions, and (3) the hateful loyalty-security program of the Executive.

"In so doing, as some commentators have noted, the Court moved far in advance of the other two branches of government. The Court reaffirmed some ancient and near-forgotten maxims of Jeffersonian democracy....

"The causes for the Supreme Court decisions do not lie principally in the complexities of the law or the make-up of the individual Justices. Basically, they lie in what is commonly called the changed political climate. And the change in the climate resulted from the incessant struggles of the people for democratic rights and for peace. The defeat of McCarthyite congressmen in the 1954 elections, the Senate censure of McCarthy in 1954, the historic summit conference at Geneva in 1955--all these went to make up the new climate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 19, 1957, pp. 1, 5.

"The over-riding lesson that must be learned from the situation is the need and opportunity of following up this important victory by wiping from the statute books and from legislative procedures generally the entire reactionary mess of thought-control laws and practices. The Supreme Court judges did not make this vital decision, however, out of the goodness of their hearts. They responded to the growing democratic pressures in this country and abroad. More of the same will topple a lot more of the disgraceful and poisonous thought-control laws."

Daily Worker,
June 26, 1957, p. 5.

10. Attacks on the Supreme Court

"When the nine black-robed Supreme Court justices file into their seats promptly at noon today they will have before them a docket of cases touching virtually every aspect of civil liberties...."

"And all of them are to be decided in an atmosphere where the segregationists and the cold warriors are unleashing a sustained attack on the court for its recent decisions on civil rights and civil liberties."

Daily Worker,
October 7, 1957, p. 3.

"THE McCARTHYITES of our nation are bitterly resisting the Supreme Court's civil liberties decisions. In this they join the Dixiecrats seeking to overthrow the high court's desegregation decisions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 30, 1957, p. 5.

11. Support the Supreme Court Decisions

"THERE is no doubt that while the main trend in the country is back to constitutional liberties, the extreme Right has raised a considerable uproar against the court. The labor movement, the Negro peoples organizations, the farm bodies and various civic groups--together the majority of the nation--have not yet spoken up sufficiently in support of the court's civil liberties decisions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 16, 1957, p. 4.

"NOW a few words concerning a number of measures which the progressive forces, including us Communists, should take to help the counter-attacks of reaction and to advance the whole struggle for democratic liberties and civil rights:

"...It is essential to popularize the democratic significance and portent of the court's decision for all Americans, Communists and non-Communists alike...."

* This probably should read "on reaction."

"...Organized expressions of support for the court's decisions in the field of civil liberties AND civil rights should be encouraged.

"...In connection with the preliminary discussions now proceeding in respect to the 1958 elections, major attention should be given to raising in a new way the vital issues of upholding the Constitution and the democratic rulings of the court in general...

"...Obviously special attention needs to be given to reaching and mobilizing new sectors of the labor movement to speak out and assert itself...."

Daily Worker,
August 5, 1957, p. 7.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. The national budget should be based on spending "for welfare and not warfare."
2. American troops stationed at foreign military bases should be withdrawn.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Military Budget

"Mr. President:

"You said the other day you plan to take to TV to defend your \$71.8 billions budget, which is under sharp attack from many quarters because it is too high.

"We, too, think it is too high, though not for the same reasons as many of your critics....

"...65 percent is for military and other cold war purposes. Never in peacetime history of our land or any other has so vast an amount been spent for such an end. In the light of the testimony of your military leaders, as well as of such experts as George Kennan, that there is no danger of general war, such expenditures are both unnecessary and provocative."

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"You insist you cannot reduce the budget until world tensions are relaxed. But would not a cut in cold war expenses itself help to relax tensions? And is it not a fact that everywhere else such budgets are being cut?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 10, 1957, p. 5.

"The issue is inescapable. Unless there is a drive for peace and disarmament, for ending H-bomb tests and far-flung military bases, and ending support to Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and their like, huge budgets principally committed to military expenditures will continue.

"A fight for a people's budget, for welfare and not warfare, for genuine national and social security, is premised today on a settled national policy of peaceful coexistence. This will make possible a shift from huge military expenditures to needed social expenditures and tax relief for the great masses of Americans.

"The people should tell their Congressmen in no uncertain terms: restore all the cuts in social expenditures; cut from the swollen arms establishment and speed the progress of universal disarmament and ending of H-bomb tests; increase tax exemption for low-bracket earners and plug the tax loopholes and depletion allowances by which the monopolists wax fat at the popular expense."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 23, 1957, p. 5.

2. Withdrawal of American Troops from Foreign Bases

"American troops are stationed at air, land and naval bases in considerable numbers in 48 countries all over the globe...."

"Some of these are of course normally stationed attaches and personnel at foreign embassies. But in most foreign lands these American forces man the network of bases which surrounds the USSR in an enormous circle around the globe.

"The explosion in Taiwan, the Girard case, the warnings from our closest allies, were indications that a foreign policy which rested on such deployment of our forces abroad was a shaky one indeed.

"So far the Administration has turned down the offer of mutual troops withdrawal. Perhaps as the TV and radio exchanges, which now even Dulles says he favors, are expanded, it will be more difficult to withstand world-wide pressures toward that end."

The Worker,
June 16, 1957, pp. 5, 13.

"This is what is basically wrong--the policy of having military bases and armies of occupation throughout the world. This is the policy that needs reversal and in the first instance in the Asian lands to which our government too often exports racist attitudes along with wrong and dangerous foreign and military policies."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
June 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The blunt fact is that the government's policy of establishing bases and military forces on the territory of other countries is destroying our country's good name.

"A time inevitably comes when a people rises against foreign occupation. It may take a long train of abuses but come it must, as our own Declaration of Independence states so well."

Daily Worker,
May 28, 1957, p. 5.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. A successful struggle for full equality for Negroes in the Southern States is basic to the future progress of the entire Nation.
2. The gains achieved by the Negroes thus far have been secured through "passionate resistance and heroic struggle."
3. The Communist Party, USA, is playing an important part in the struggle to gain full equality for the Negro.
4. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is successfully working for "the expansion of democracy."
5. The civil rights legislation enacted by the 85th Congress, although "weak," has laid the foundation for future efforts to secure passage of a stronger law.
6. The use of Federal troops to protect the rights of Negro high school students in Little Rock, Arkansas, although "reluctant" and "tardy," should be supported by all patriotic citizens.
7. The Federal Government must intervene to protect the rights of Negroes in the Southern States.
8. Every effort must be made to support the drive to qualify 5,000,000 Negroes to vote in the Southern States in the 1960 elections.
9. The labor movement should initiate an intensive campaign to organize the unorganized Negro and white workers in the Southern States.
10. Close unity between the Negro people and the labor movement is indispensable in the struggle for "a progressive democratic America."

11. The Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, D. C., on May 17, 1957, was a "magnificent and historic" demonstration organized by the Negro people to support their demands for full equality.
12. The Negro people will achieve full equality only under socialism.
13. Native Americans are taught to regard the foreign born as their inferiors.
14. Although "distortions" during Stalin's regime led to the unjust execution and persecution of many Jews in the Soviet Union, these "errors" are being steadily corrected. However, a more detailed explanation by the Soviet Union of the steps being taken to prevent a recurrence of these abuses would be welcomed.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Fight for Negro Rights Is Basic

"The fight for the full citizenship of the Negroes in the deep South, and for the democratization of that blighted area, intersects the whole pattern of American life and, for the most part, is determinative of the social progress and future of the nation."

"The most active contradiction within American society today is the struggle for the full citizenship of the Negro people--for civil rights--against the system of national oppression and jim-crow imposed upon Negro people. It is a struggle that takes place on many fronts--economic, social, political and legislative--the core of which is in the South, where the right to vote is the next big crusade of the freedom fighters, actively supported by labor and democratic forces all over the country. The whole future of the nation depends upon the sharpening and quick resolution of this struggle in a democratic manner..."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, pp. 16, 20.

"Life demands of the American people an intensification of the struggle for civil rights, civil liberties and respect for human dignity. Failure to press forward in greater numbers and at an increased tempo will bring disastrous political effects such as have been sustained from time to time in the struggle to pass remedial civil rights legislation."

Daily Worker,
May 27, 1957, p. 4.

2. Need for Struggle

"The logical consequences of a half century of compromise, procrastination, passivity and uncertainty surrounding the constitutional rights of the Negro people and their dignity as human beings can now be clearly seen. The half-century's failure of the federal government to protect the lives, property and rights of the Negro has produced the imminent danger of bloody racist outbreaks against Negro citizens that cannot possibly be localized should one occur. It has jeopardized orderly constitutional procedure throughout the nation and threatens the solidarity of the Union."

Daily Worker,
September 23, 1957, p. 5.

"Furthermore, whatever advances have been made by the Negro people in the United States have come as the result not of patience and moderation --which are synonyms for passivity and inaction--but of passionate resistance and heroic struggle. That is the indubitable historical record. The Negro people know that truth in their bones and they are acting upon that truth."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, October, 1957, p. 20.

3. Communists Fight for Rights of Negroes

"Communists are dedicated to socialism in the United States, based upon the best traditions and national characteristics of our own country."

They fight for the immediate interests of the Negro, the working class and the whole American people. Hence, the building and consolidation of the Communist Party is in the interest of the whole country. They will spare no effort in fighting to smash the threatening filibuster and in cooperation with all others, to secure passage of civil rights legislation in the Senate."

Daily Worker,
June 27, 1957, p. 7.

"The building of the Communist Party is an essential part of the fight for a powerful, militant and united movement for the achievement of every partial civil rights reform...."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, p. 19.

"...our Party will go forward to make its essential contribution to the freedom of Negro Americans, the victory of the American working class, a world at peace and the achievement of socialism."

National Committee, CPUSA, "In Memoriam: Edward E. Strong," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 3.

4. Relations with Negro Organizations

"THE 48th annual convention of the NAACP which closed last week-end in Detroit undoubtedly registered a high water mark in the fight for civil rights and for the expansion of democracy."

"In summing up its victories, accounting for its setbacks, and mapping its immediate future, the NAACP convention operated in an atmosphere of restrained optimism, created by a certainty of ultimate

victory. The convention strongly suggested that millions of Americans, Negro and white, are ready to act on the understanding that freedom is indivisible. This, in part, has been the contribution to democracy of the NAACP and of those who gathered in Detroit to attend its 48th convention."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
July 3, 1957, p. 5.

"... Conscious participants in the upward struggles of peoples and societies, Communists move with confidence in the triumph of socialism, and have no need of mechanical piches or captures of movements and organizations. Those are the anti-democratic methods of fascist reaction, and imperialism."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, p. 19.

5. Civil Rights Legislation

"THE ZERO HOUR is approaching for civil rights legislation-- even for the Senate-weakened version of the Administration bill now in the House Rules Committee. We disagree with those who are in full cry for the bill's defeat. We agree with the NAACP, the AFL-CIO executive council and other groups who have urged the House to pass the measure as a foundation upon which to build.

"It is true that the Dixiecrats won a partial victory in striking from the bill two of its original moderate provisions to protect civil rights by federal court injunctions. But the bill still provides for a Civil Rights Commission and gives the Attorney General the power to intervene to protect voting rights when these are denied by state agencies. And a federal court can still jail such agents who fail to heed its orders until those orders are complied with."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 15, 1957, pp. 1, 5.

"...The fact remains there could have been a far stronger bill had it not been for the maneuvers of the Johnson leadership and the on-again-off-again attitude of President Eisenhower.

"Nevertheless, weak as it is, a civil rights bill to advance the right to vote is at last on the books for the first time since Reconstruction Days. The problem now is two-fold: first, to enforce it; second, to strengthen it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 4, 1957, p. 5.

"Congress has deferred to the moral and political poverty of its Dixiecrat contingent. It obviously has decided to enforce constitutional rights on the installment plan. The supporters of civil rights feel compelled to accept the installment, puny as it is, as a foundation upon which to build...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
August 13, 1957, p. 5.

6. Little Rock

"The voice of the Nation--appalled and outraged by Arkansas Governor Faubus' cold-hearted armed assault upon the Negro children of Little Rock--has finally evoked a response from a reluctant and uncomprehending President. Though unforgivably tardy (for 20 days the whole burden of upholding the integrity of Federal law against the mob inspired by an insurrectionary Governor was borne on the small shoulders of nine lonely Negro boys and girls!)--Eisenhower finally acknowledged his responsibility to enforce the law of the land and ordered the U.S. Army to counter the force and violence of the mob and secure to the Negro children their lawful right to attend the Little Rock Central High School."

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"All people with a sense of justice, humanity and patriotism welcome the action of the President....

"Let this decisive action of President Eisenhower evoke a new pattern of civic responsibility on the part of government officials, the trade union leaders, the spokesmen of religious and cultural circles, to counter the outrageous work of the racists with crusading deeds to wipe the stench of segregation and discrimination from all areas of national life."

"The action of the government at Little Rock must not become a single shot expedient. Little Rock cannot be a half-way way house for the government to rest its case against the insurrectionary southern segregationists. As Faubus' infamy was no isolated stunt of a wild man, so Eisenhower's counter-action at Little Rock must not be an isolated deed but the first of a series of measures that the government must be compelled to undertake to put down the southern racists revolt and secure the rights of the millions of Negroes to exercise their full rights as citizens.

"The Department of Justice must initiate criminal proceedings against the circle of high placed insurrectionary conspirators who have plotted and organized defiance of the laws. It must act to indict, prosecute and jail the chieftains of the White Citizens Council and KKK subversives who flaunt the laws of the land. Governor Faubus is the chief instrument of the Dixiecrat profiteers-in-prejudice but he is only one of a list of criminals-at-large-Faubus shares the responsibility for the infamy of Little Rock with such notables as Governor Timmerman of Georgia, * Governor Darden of Virginia, ** Senator Olin Johnston of South Carolina, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, and Senator Strom Thurman of South Carolina. The world has not forgotten the 'Manifesto of 100 Southern Congressmen' entered in the Congressional Record by the notorious witchhunter Howard W. Smith of Virginia which invoked the spirit of Confederate rebellion to the Union and summoned the South to 'resist by every lawful means' the desegregation and anti-discrimination rulings of the Supreme Court. Impeachment proceedings must be brought against them. They must be expelled from the Congressional Committees which they dominate."

*George B. Timmerman is Governor of South Carolina.

**J. Lindsay Almond was elected Governor of Virginia in November, 1957, to succeed Thomas B. Stanley.

"The government must be compelled to recognize that the policy of tedious 'moderation and gradualism' only comforts the segregationists. It provides them with time to organize legalistic, legislative and mob defiance of the law. The constitutional rights of Negro school children and their parents are personal and present and do not lend themselves to 'gradual and moderate' remedy. Justice deferred is justice denied when it comes to the rights of children to schooling and of their parents to voting in a given election.

"To insure the outcome of the crisis of Little Rock the President should act NOW to impanel the six-man bi-partisan Civil Rights Commission as authorized by the Civil Rights law to set up the Civil Rights Department of the Justice Department and set it to work implementing the newly enacted Civil Rights Law....

"The epic struggle of the Negro people and democracy loving Americans for an end to segregation and discrimination has entered a new phase. The issue is irrevocably joined and it must be fought out on a vast scale with new sharpness and decisiveness. There can be no halfway stopping point."

"Let everyone in this hour act to manifest support and solidarity with all measures taken to secure the enforcement of the laws of the U.S. in respect to the citizenship and human rights of the Negro People...."

Daily Worker,
September 30, 1957, pp. 1, 4.

7. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"...in its present framework the issue is whether American citizens can be secure in their federally guaranteed rights against racist officials and private citizens who are influenced by their actions. The President is duty bound to act with speed the preserve*these rights under a republican form of government.

*This probably should read "to preserve."

"If Negroes--supported by some Southern whites--are willing to die for this principle, the least the President can do is act to protect it."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 11, 1957, p. 5.

"Racist law-breaking, when it has the blessings of the Dixiecrat political machines in the Deep South, is, in effect, encouraged. This only invites greater defiance and more violence. The President has the duty to speak up for law and order, to mount a moral crusade for law and order, to demand respect for law by prosecuting law-breakers."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
November 21, 1957, p. 2.

"... The Department of Justice and the great powers at the command of the President, as chief executive of the Government, must be fully applied throughout the offending areas of the country to enforce compliance with the desegregation rulings of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional provisions which uphold the right of the Negro people to full and unfettered equality!"

Daily Worker,
September 11, 1957, p. 2.

8. Right To Vote in the South

"The fight for the ballot is a uniting movement in the South, drawing into activity the five million Negro sharecroppers and poor farmers, whose suffering from terror and intimidation is even more terrifying than that of the Negroes in the Southern cities...."

"The battle for the vote still requires the outlawing of the poll tax and all the other contemptible and illegal subterfuges used by the racist officials to disfranchise not only Negroes but whites."

Daily Worker,
June 27, 1957, p. 5.

"For now, let labor and the popular forces render every material aid to the newly launched crusade of the Southern Negroes to secure to themselves the tools of effective political action--the right to vote and to stand for election.* The 'register and vote' campaign, with its goal to qualify 5,000,000 Negro voters by 1960, is now getting under way throughout the South... As this movement succeeds, new, progressive alliances and Negro-white mass political relations will be born of it; the South will witness the emergence of a different sort of power relation in its political complexion, which will be altogether favorable to the cause of social progress and working-class advance in the nation as a whole."

James E. Jackson, Jr., "The Challenge of Little Rock," Political Affairs, October, 1957, p. 10.

9. Organizing Drive in the South

"...It is essential that the AFL-CIO throw its great weight **ACTIVELY** into the integration struggle. This requires consistent support to the struggle in Arkansas; an educational campaign against poisonous racist ideas that affect sections of labor, particularly in the South; above all, a far-flung organizing drive of unorganized Negro and white workers in the South.

"To organize the South is to battle against centers of the open-shop, the runaway shop, the sweatshop. To organize the South is to weaken politically the racists and open-shoppers who control key Congressional committees as well as Southern state legislatures. They are the gentry who pass right-to-scab laws, resist minimum wage legislation and fight every economic and social advance sought by the people.

"In the all-out national offensive against racism labor can play a key role. Thus it will not only cement its alliance with the Negro people--an absolute condition for political progress in our country--but will strengthen itself and the people of America immeasurably."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 3, 1957, p. 5.

* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

10. Negro-Labor Unity

"Labor and the Negro people stand in the forefront of the social forces making for a progressive democratic America. The unity in struggle of these two is indispensable to a people's victory and the realization of a 'government of the people, by the people and for the people.' The rights and interests of labor and the Negro people are inseparably related. Their destinies are inextricably interwoven. Yet labor and the Negro people are separate entities. It is, however, a dangerous fallacy to see in that individuality a barrier to united action."

"...the prerequisites for eliminating racial restrictions through the establishment of broad unified cultural and political actions of the people exist. Given this unity of the Negro people, labor and their allies, victory can be realized."

Daily Worker,
May 27, 1957, p. 4.

11. Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom

"THE PRAYER PILGRIMAGE of May 17 was a magnificent and historic protest demonstration, representing a new high level of the Negro people's movement. It registered their united will, together with significant sections of their white labor and progressive allies, for full integration into first-class citizenship, particularly in the deep South. The demonstration will have its impact on coming events, nationally and internationally, and will greatly strengthen the confidence of the Negro people in moving together as a people. But the struggle has just begun."

"Not since the Civil War has there ever been such a powerful, massive demonstration of the Negro people for first class

citizenship; nor has there been in modern America a similar mobilization from any other section of the population, not excluding labor in its own direct interest...."

Benjamin J. Davis, "The Pilgrimage to Washington," Political Affairs, July, 1957, pp. 14, 15.

12. Negroes Need Socialism

"The Communists are interested not alone in the immediate reforms necessary in advancing Negro rights, but also in the ultimate achievement of socialism. The present system of national oppression of the Negro people, the brutal racist crimes committed against them are the failure of American capitalism, and are inherent in capitalism and imperialism, of which the U.S. is the most ruthless in the world. In this sense, U.S. capitalism is in a political crisis.

"...Socialism alone in our over-ripe country can smash the capitalist roots of racism and national oppression and prepare the conditions for the full manhood status of the Negro people, conditions which are thwarted by the profit system of the big monopolies.

"Against this perspective, American capitalism offers only nuclear tests and wars, the retention of colonialism, international tension, factory speedup and a free hand to the Eastlands, the Klans and the white citizens councils."

Daily Worker,
June 27, 1957, pp. 5, 7.

13. Foreign-Born Americans

"THE UPSTATE New York convention of gangsters raided by police, almost all their listed names sounding Italian, provided the press

with a fresh opportunity to blaze out rewrites of their racket stories, but this time angled 'Mafia.'..."

"The Mafia yarn is directed at Italian-Americans just as the 'Protocols of Zion' fake is used for anti-Semitic incitement and 'rape' charge are aimed at Negroes.

"The same pattern of 'special' slanders is applied against Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, American Indians people of Asia in this country and every nationality of European origin.

"AMERICANS from childhood on are trained to believe that the filth in our lives is brought into the country from elsewhere....

"The truth is that when heavy immigration to America began, crime in all its forms was already in full flower here. New arrivals who were attracted into one or another field of crime had 'pure' Americans as their trainers in most cases."

Daily Worker,
November 20, 1957, p. 2.

14. Soviet Anti-Semitism

"THE resolution on the Jewish question in the Soviet Union points out the historic achievements of the USSR in outlawing anti-Semitism, enabling Jews to enter all phases of economic, political and cultural life, encouraging the development of a variegated Yiddish-language culture, and in rescuing hundreds of thousands of Jews when Hitler launched World War II.

"The resolution notes, however, that the Soviet Jewish community was later hard hit by distortions of 'the Leninist policy on the national question,' It states:

" 'Administrative actions that go back so far as the mid-1930s led, after World War II, to the liquidation of all Jewish secular institutions, organizations and channels of cultural expression, outside of Biro-Bidjan, whose Jewish cultural life, however, was also adversely affected by these administrative actions....

" 'Jewish cultural figures, many of them with worldwide reputations and following, were unjustly and secretly executed. Many others were persecuted and imprisoned. We who were incredulous when enemies of socialism rumored such events were horrified when unimpeachable Communist sources since the 20th Congress (of the Soviet Communist Party) corroborated them.'

"THE resolution records the positive changes that began even before the 20th Congress and the plans reported by visitors to the Soviet Union, for the restoration of various Jewish cultural institutions.

" 'Thus far,' the resolution states, 'not one of these projects had been carried to fruition. The fact that there was no publicly proclaimed program for the restoration and re-establishment of Jewish cultural life... has increased the anxiety of the Jewish people and other democratically minded Americans and sections of the working class.'

"Citing the fact that Soviet Jews 'are notably active in government positions, in all aspects of the economic, administrative, scientific, cultural and political work of the Soviet Union,' the resolution continues;

" 'We reject the slander of anti-Soviet elements accusing the Soviet Union of anti-Semitism. There is no official state policy of anti-Semitism. However, remnants of anti-Semitism, implanted by generations of former tsarist rule and revived to a certain degree among backward elements by the Hitlerite wartime occupation, apparently remain.'

"The document further states:

" 'All those in many lands concerned with the matter would be heartened by the Soviet government's issuing a statement on what happened to

Jewish culture and on how the errors on the Lenin policy on the question are being and would be overcome.'

"The resolution expresses confidence that 'the Soviet party, which is steadily correcting the errors of the Stalin period, will...give full expression to the cultural needs and desires of the Jewish people.' "

The Worker,
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

IX. EDUCATION

1. Education in the United States is in a state of crisis.
2. Greater educational opportunities should be afforded to the children of low-income families.
3. A program of increased Federal and state assistance is necessary to relieve the crisis in education.
4. Socialism has proved its superiority over capitalism in the field of education.
5. The closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science* was a "big blow" to the working class in America.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Crisis in Education

"YES, WE AMERICANS must think more deeply than ever we did in our lifetime. The question, 'Why did they do it first?' ** is an enormous challenge. Can it be that socialism's overwhelming emphasis on education--on the well-being of the young--has something to do with the answer?

"Must we not ask why its schools and universities are turning out more scientists and technicians than we are?

"How can that be when we are the richest nation of the world? And why is it that our public school system is in crisis, lacking teachers and adequate space?"

The Worker,
October 13, 1957, p. 9.

*The Jefferson School of Social Science has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

**This refers to the launching of the Soviet earth satellite.

"It is obvious that kids suffer when crammed into overloaded classes. Academic standards have sagged noticeably as many of the ablest teachers are lured out of the classrooms by better pay in industry and other fields. This is especially true of men teachers and most especially of those teaching mathematics and the sciences."

"Moreover, the physical surroundings of many youngsters during that third of their waking hours which is spent in school, are in the words of the Teachers' Union, 'dismal, dilapidated and even dangerous' in some instances. Equipment and supplies are often as antiquated and inadequate as the buildings which house them...."

The Worker,
September 15, 1957, p. 5.

2. Education for All

"...What is needed here is the democratization of our educational system, in quantity and quality; an end to racism, to conditions favoring the rich, to an atmosphere choking the conscientious teacher, to male supremacy, to budgetary stinginess when it comes to the mental development of our youth. That is the lesson for the American educational system from the thrilling advances made in this regard during 40 years of Socialism in the USSR."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, November, 1957,
p. 26.

"How quickly forgotten here is the talk about our country's lag in education as compared to the advances in the Soviet Union. Does anyone seriously propose that the way to keep America in the forefront scientifically and educationally is to hang the sign 'For Rich Only' on our universities?"

"A real inquiry into higher education would come to exactly opposite conclusions... More and more scholarships for qualified youngsters, regardless of their families' abilities to pay, should be the demand."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 29, 1957, p. 2.

"...It is not a question of creating opportunities for the 'highest IQ' handful--but of raising the level of ALL students in an educational schedule for DEMOCRACY, not for death. That is the issue that confronts every American father and mother and child, and it presses urgently on every household in the country."

Editorial, The Worker,
December 1, 1957, p. 2.

3. Increased Aid for Education

"... More and better schools are desperately needed. Better pay for teachers so they do not need to work two jobs to make a living. This better pay and improved conditions for teachers will attract many young people to become dedicated teachers.

"Much more federal and state aid to schools is the only answer to the tremendous problems that face the educational system today."

Daily Worker,
October 4, 1957, p. 5.

4. Education under Socialism

"... Forty years ago, when the Russian Revolution occurred, we were known as the country with the world's highest literacy and the educational picture in Czarist Russia was just about what it was in Chiang Kai-shek China. Today, as all our experts concede, the USSR surpasses us in educational development, especially in the training of scientists."

"Socialism is showing its superiority in many fields, most strikingly in the field of education. The socialist countries have difficulties, of course--difficulties stemming from rapid growth. But we, boastful of our riches, are falling behind. The record should shame America and arouse the people for a major campaign for more schools, more teachers and better treatment of those who teach our children."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
September 3, 1957, p. 5.

5. Jefferson School of Social Science

"LOSS OF THE Jefferson School of Social Science was a big blow to the workingclass movement of New York and, indeed, the country. It left a vacuum that must be filled by advanced workers who long ago realized that theory is the inseparable handmaiden of practice.

"It is good to learn, therefore, that a group of Marxist instructors will resume a series of courses in various aspects of Marxist theory...

"Progressive workers will, we are sure, give these courses their support. For there can be no real advance towards socialism without a profound understanding of socialist theory...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
October 21, 1957, p. 5.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. In capitalist society, the ruling class controls the media of cultural expression.
2. The people of the Soviet Union have developed a high cultural level.
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of cultural delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.
4. The working class should offer greater support for the enactment of a Fine Arts Bill.
5. Increased Federal aid would assist in promoting the arts in the United States.
6. "Big Business" prevented the fulfillment of the "cultural evolution" which began during the 1930's.
7. Culture is "a dynamic force" in the struggle for socialism.
8. Recent Soviet scientific achievements foretell even greater successes in the future.
9. Scientific development in the United States has been handicapped by "witch-hunting" and the "cold war."
10. The International Geophysical Year is a symbol of peace.
11. Both science and socialism are "collective, planned, socially-oriented."
12. The true current evangelists are the leaders of the struggle for Negro rights in the Southern States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Culture under Capitalism

"The main enemy in the cultural as well as other fields is the monopolist-imperialist who owns, controls, vulgarizes, censors or suppresses culture and cultural institutions, media of communication, etc...."

"...It is of course true that the ultimately decisive factor in cultural as in all history is the economic factor. In the depression thirties economic pressures drove most intellectuals to identify their interests with those of the workers, and to feel hospitable to the aims of depression-proof socialism; whereas in recent years it has cost cultural workers their jobs, their audience, even their personal liberty to defy the ruling class and side with socialism and peace against capitalism and war...."

"...Capitalist art, therefore, will reflect in artistic, metaphorical terms the competitiveness, individualism and class antagonisms of capitalism in the most favorable light and will ascribe to the ruling class many of the virtues of a superior species. Only the greatest humanist art, as a rule, transcends the narrow class view of current reality."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, pp. 26, 27, 28.

2. Culture in the USSR

"The cultural level of the Soviet people, as one may see it in Moscow and Leningrad, is so high as to be breathtaking. Everywhere

people are reading, and they are reading the classics of the entire world's literature. People are reading while riding the escalators in the Metros-- everywhere. I never saw anything like it. And the enthusiasm for music and the ballet is enormous; and I found that everybody, those I met most casually who were working in the Metro, or ordinary citizens walking on the streets, could discuss music and art and literature with fluency and real interest. I found, too, a very great familiarity with the artistic and cultural achievements of the Western world."

"... The Russians seemed almost fanatical about knowledge, about learning; they seemed unable to get their fill of culture. It was thrilling to see working men and women flocking to the theatre, ballet, music halls, art museums, libraries, the jammed bookstores. Culture seemed as necessary and as important as food."

Charlotte Saxe, "The Youth Festival in Moscow," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 12.

3. Exchange of Cultural Delegations

"Both our government and the U.S.S.R. are officially committed to the sound principle that cultural and other exchanges between the two countries and peoples are conducive to better understanding.

"The more Americans and Russians exchange visits the better...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 14, 1957, p. 4.

4. Fine Arts Bill

"It is a paradoxical fact that the utility of art, both on the obvious and the unobvious level, has always been recognized and combatted

by the class in power, while the working class remains largely unaware of the valuable services available to it in various cultural forms. Save for rare instances, when unions have employed technical and talent workers to mount a theatrical production in their behalf... or hired an artist to decorate a union hall, or helped to promote a book club, the labor movement has hardly begun to tap the tremendous resources at its command. It is significant that today's belated and timid campaign for a Fine Arts Bill is being conducted by intellectuals unaided by the working class and that the most effective argument in its favor is not that it will bring cultural advantages within range of the people but that it will constitute a valuable instrument in the cold war!

"So long as the mass of the people--including their most progressive leaders--exhibit the traditional backwoods contempt for culture and ignore it in favor of exclusive concentration on pork chops, we shall not even begin the job of creating a humanist American culture indispensable to the overall campaign for socialism."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 26.

5. Federal Aid for the Arts

"For an immediate solution, the theatre needs more artistic boldness. An ultimate solution must come through establishment of repertory theatre sponsored by federal, state and local governments where actors, directors and playwrights can work together free from the roadblocks and frustrations of a commercial theatre which is dominated by landlords and businessmen."

...
"... But unhappily prices of tickets remain up somewhere in the clouds. And I guess they will remain there until we catch up with the rest of the world and establish permanent repertory companies

fully or partially subsidized by grants from a federal fine arts commission."

The Worker,
May 5, 1957, pp. 8, 14.

6. Art for the People

"Any writer who went through the Thirties can never forget the surging thunder and glory of those days. The great arts projects were started by the Roosevelt government solely to keep alive thousands of hungry writers, musicians, artists and other cultural workers. But the projects grew far beyond anyone's original plan. For the first time, they brought art galleries, symphony concerts, the theatre classics in live form, and other expressions of man's spiritual heritage to thousands of crossroad villages, factory towns, slums, cities and fields where the people did their daily living and struggling, and where never before had culture penetrated. Art went to the people, for the first time in America. What is more, the people gladly welcomed the artists. It was a true cultural evolution that could have changed the people and the artists. If it hadn't been stopped in time by Big Business and its Congress.

"AS FOR THE writers, they produced many good things... The books and poems and plays of the Hungry Thirties, whatever form they took had a common spirit. They were not metaphysical, but lived on earth, not among little self-absorbed saints or ivory-tower sensibilities, but among the vast creators of new worlds--the People."

The Worker,
May 12, 1957, p. 9.

"...In the United States the depression had created a glorious renaissance of the arts. Social realism, charged with fire, imagination and every kind of new form, inspired the country. Painting came close to the people. But after Roosevelt died, the rich returned

from their underground, and took over American life again. They made an open assault on the hated realism of the people."

The Worker,
May 19, 1957, p. 11.

"... The flowering of Left-wing theatre, art and literature in the 1930's, although seldom attaining a very high cultural level, nevertheless heightened the social consciousness of the entire country...."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 25.

7. Communist Cultural Program

"THE resolution on cultural work states that the Communist Party's approach to this question must be based on:

"Recognition of 'the critical importance of culture'; thorough understanding of 'our country's democratic cultural heritage, including the rich workingclass and socialist traditions of our people and cultural contributions of the Negro people, of the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American peoples, of the Jewish, Italian and other national groups'; opposition to political censorship and economic blacklisting; a break with past practices 'which tended to impose a narrow, doctrinaire conception of the role of the artist in the Party'; a determined effort to improve artistic criticism on a Marxist-Leninist basis; struggle against 'anti-cultural and anti-intellectual tendencies within the Party and against all reactionary ideas and influences of monopoly capitalism.' "

The Worker,
July 21, 1957, p. 4.

"...in a period like the present, when creative activity on the Left has all but petered out, the first step should be to encourage cultural

activity on every level and in every form. The best encouragement to this end would be a new attitude toward culture in our ranks from top to bottom--a whole-hearted, not merely verbal recognition of culture as a dynamic force in the total campaign for socialism."

Henry Arndt, "For a New Approach to Culture," Political Affairs, May, 1957, p. 31.

8. Science in the USSR

"With the launching of the world's first space satellite two weeks ago, world attention focused once again on Soviet science--on the men and women responsible for this latter-day wonder and on the accomplishments of inventors, theoreticians, engineers, and scientists of every kind in the largest country on earth.

"One of the reasons for the tremendous surprise in the United States at the Soviet Union's feat has been the decades-long propaganda barrage which has told us time and again that Soviet scientists could accomplish nothing important because communism imposed a totalitarian system on them...."

The Worker,
October 20, 1957, p. 6.

"In scientific development the simple fact is that no country surpasses the USSR, and that in important areas the work of Soviet scientists is without peer in the world."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 21.

"ALL THIS, of course, is only a beginning. The Soviet Union is still a very young country. Only 40 years old, it is developing with unparalleled

speed. Although it has already established Socialism, it is still building the economic base and educating the great armies of scientists, engineers and skilled workers who will soon carry the country on to the realization of still more astonishing 'impossibilities' than it has yet done."

Daily Worker,
October 9, 1957, p. 7.

9. Science in America

"...Mr. Wilson, of course, has been Secretary for Defense; and it is he who remarked: 'Basic research is when you don't know what you're doing.'

"In that remark is not only the egregious ignorance of a Cabinet member and one of our leading 'industrial statesmen'; in it is focused the purely pragmatic, anti-cultural philistinism of the American monopoly bourgeoisie. Therein is characteristic contempt for scholarship and for teaching... There is the explanation for the average yearly salary of \$3,700 for instructors in large state universities. There is the attitude that makes possible and urges on the hounding of scientists by a McCarthy and the firing or intimidating of the most original minds in the country."

Herbert Aptheker "Ideas in Our Time," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 23.

"Many American scientists and educators differ concerning the unprecedented scope and rate of progress, as well as the inherent values of and potentiality of socialist scientific research, education, invention and industrial production. But many of them presently recognize that a decade of witch-hunting McCarthyism and Truman-Dulles cold war policies have severely disoriented and set back scientific inquiry and progress in the U.S.A."

Eugene Dennis, "Sputnik, The USA and the USSR," Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 3.

10. International Geophysical Year

"Call it 'Operation IGY,' if you like, but bear in mind that it has little similarity to the types of organized activity a military-minded generation labels 'operations.'"

"In this project the 'enemy' is man's ignorance of his terrestrial home, and mayhap the example of 64 nations collaborating to dispel this 'enemy' will also be useful in saving mankind from the greater enemy of its own inhumanity."

"...in these days of the cold war and the nuclear arms race, 64 nations are relying on one another, demonstrating their confidence in the integrity of one another, in what is undoubtedly the greatest peacetime project for human advancement in human history."

Daily Worker,
July 17, 1957, p. 6.

"Clearly the International Geophysical Year is a symbol of peace and of the uses to which man's growing mastery over nature can be put to build a better world."

Editorial, The Worker,
July 7, 1957, p. 4.

11. Socialism and Science

"...Socialism is collective, planned, socially-oriented. So is science; and the identity stems from the fact that socialism is the first scientific social order ever brought into existence. A socialist society is a society consciously reared in Marxism-Leninism, on the scientific outlook of dialectical materialism. Science is to socialism as the fingers are to the hand..."

Herbert Apthekar, "Ideas in Our Time,"
Political Affairs, November, 1957, p. 23.

12. Evangelism

"Listen, and what real evangelists do we hear today. Not Billy Graham, who has made revival another tranquilizer....

"But, we do hear Martin Luther King...we hear the voices of the Negro people, walking a sawdust trail that has not been swept, waxed and air-conditioned.

"They fight with the New Testament, as Midwest and Southern labor organizers fought in the 30s and early 40s.

"When we listen now for the voice of love and anger, we hear Martin Luther King thunder across the land...."

The Worker,
October 13, 1957, p. 10.

XI. WOMEN

1. Women want to rear their children in an era of peace.
2. Present laws and customs "cage women and curb their talents."
3. There should be an increase in the exchange of women's delegations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Women Want Peace

"WE CANNOT go along with those who poo-poo Mother's Day as nothing more than a commercial racket. It is true that like many other good things, it has been somewhat cheapened by the frantic pursuit of the almighty buck. Nonetheless, the idea of honoring the mothers of our land once a year remains a valid one far beyond the ability of high pressure merchandising to spoil.

"We join in the tribute to Mother, who must raise a family, make do despite the high cost of living, and increasingly do those things while holding down an outside job.

"We would only add that the very best Mother's Day present in 1957 would be the guarantee that today's children will grow up free from the menace of the A- and H-bomb."

Editorial, The Worker,
May 12, 1957, p. 4.

2. Women's Wasted Talents

"I CAME into the sunny conference room at the river level of the United Nations..."

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"The delegates represented the women of the world: here a delicate woman wearing a flowered sari, of India, there a smartly-tailored, graying woman of the U. S. A., bent intent over their desks shaped in a huge double horse-shoe that curves toward the chairman's podium, were leafing through documents that one day may help millions of women toward freedom.

"...This was the 11th meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women--the one world group steadily working to change the complex laws and customs that cage women and curb their talents. It was starting this 11th year with an exciting project that promises in time to transform the fight for women's rights."

"In the cool language of UN, the project they were discussing is called 'Economic Opportunities for Women.'... A global survey to find just what chances a woman has for a decent education in the field that interests her and afterward, what opening there are."

"ACTUALLY, the UN is no stranger to this area of women's rights. Many of its earlier and current projects--the one on equal pay for equal work, another on access to education, one on part-time jobs--have touched facets of it. But before now, the studies have been separated.

"Today the work is being merged and unified, and all the delegates consider it a large step forward...."

"The commission wants the whole picture, so that a girl just starting can tell what she must face, in which direction to funnel her efforts."

"Soon, UN will have the full story of how women are treated in the professions. Later, it will supply the same services to any woman who wants to work.

"These fact may, in time, help the struggle to open the doors of every school, office and factory in the world, so that the gifts and strength of women can be fully used."

The Worker,
May 5, 1957, pp. 6, 14.

3. Exchange of Women's Delegations

"IN THE MIDST of heightened tension between the two countries the U.S. and the Soviet Union have opened negotiations on cultural exchange. The very holding of these negotiations is a result of the Geneva Conference in July, 1955, and is proof that the four-power summit meeting bore fruit that not even the cold-war blasts could kill."

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"The possibilities as far as organizations are concerned are limitless. For example, one can imagine the League of Women Voters, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Federation of Women's Clubs, women's trade union auxiliaries, etc. choosing a joint delegation to study the status of women in the USSR, while a delegation from the Soviet women's organizations does the same here."

Daily Worker,
October 31, 1957, p. 2.

XII. YOUTH

1. The emphasis on financial success, rather than on ethics, in our society helps to explain the rise of juvenile delinquency.
2. There should be an increase in the exchange of youth delegations between the United States and the socialist nations.
3. Socialism would provide American youth with a higher standard of values.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Juvenile Delinquency

"THE TRIAL of 'Confidential' magazine has ousted news of protests against radioactive fall-out from the headlines. And now the folk of our nation is being showered by lurid stories of scandal, tales of madams and boudoir spies, titillated by big name sdragged through mud and unknown names coming up from the mire."

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"The abhorrent mess has its logic in a world where cash is preferable to ethics. And there is a small step from the invasion of political privacy to that of personal privacy."

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"And all of us are casting about for causes to explain what is happening to our youth who are being locked up for juvenile delinquent behavior. Look at 'Confidential,' if that kind of phenomenon isn't a reason we will eat the next copy of the Daily News front page, photograph of Desi Arnaz, Ronnie Quillan and all."

Editorial, The Worker,
August 18, 1957, p. 4.

2. Exchange of Youth Delegations

"THE STATE Department is reportedly discouraging young Americans from attending the World Youth Festival in Moscow this summer. Presumably the department suspects that any youngster who gets to Russia will promptly snag himself a press card and head for Peking, to cover China and confound John Foster.

"The State Department has not--so far--actually prohibited Americans from going; it is granting passports permitting our young people to join the 35,000 from 120 other nations who are expected at the festival.

"But it is not 'encouraging' attendance--a euphemism for doing your darnedest to keep people from going."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 14, 1957, p. 4.

"As a matter of fact, the State Department, agitated by the affair, could well consider promoting a Youth Festival in the USA, and invite youngsters from all lands--including the socialist lands--to learn of our ways. Why not?"

Editorial, The Worker,
July 28, 1957, p. 4.

3. Youth Needs Socialism

"...Can it be that our society, based upon capitalism and the drive for private profits is demonstrating its inferiority to socialism?"

"A useful gauge to judge a society is its treatment of the young. Are we providing the necessary facilities to evoke their latent capacities, to rear them so that they can realize their magnificent potential? The answer, many American voices are crying, is in the negative--this tragic day of Little Rock."

The Worker,
October 13, 1957, p. 9.

"American youth grows up under a system which promotes what might be called valueless values. Get to the top regardless of whom you trample over. The Big Dollar, the biggest automobile becomes the thing worth killing for. And why not kill? The main media for shaping public opinion; television, movies, newspapers, etc., suggests to the young that murder pays off if you avoid the stupid mistakes of moviedom characters. In other words, today's youth are victimized by an general environment which knows no race nor community boundary.

"There is no doubt but what America needs a new social system. One in which new values are created. A system in which the main drive will be to promote the advancement of all society rather than the individual. Such a system is socialism."

The Worker,
August 18, 1957, p. 11.